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## Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Have compassion upon us, Mighty God, for we are weak. We strive to do good but too often miss the mark. Without Your strength, we would surely stumble and fall.

Rescue our lawmakers from those things that aren't contributing to Your glory. Give them the good sense to listen to Your guidance and obey Your precepts.

Lord, use our Senators to plant and water seeds that will bring a harvest of healing, hope, and humility to our Nation and world.

Thank You for hearing and answering our prayers, for You are always our refuge and strength.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HYDE-SMITH). The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 1 minute in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### BIDEN INVESTIGATION

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I want to remind people of how Senator JOHNSON and I have been attacked over the months of 2020 for some investigation we have been doing, and I want to speak to that now.

For over a year, Senator JOHNSON and I investigated the Biden financial family dealings. We found that they engaged in potential criminal financial deals across the globe, including China, which created counterintelligence concerns.

We showed our work, and we made our findings very public, but the liberal media and members of the other political party chose to dismiss our work. They even falsely claimed that our work was Russian disinformation. I think they did this in order to protect leaders of the other party. Those same liberal outlets that disparaged our investigation now report that Hunter Biden's financial deals in China raised counterintelligence concerns.

Yesterday, the Biden transition team confirmed that Hunter Biden is under criminal investigation for his taxes and financial dealings.

So you can understand why I think it is very outrageous that the Fourth Estate would choose to ignore facts when they are uncovered by Republicans.

Senator JOHNSON and I don't do oversight work just for the fun of it. Oversight work is serious business. It shouldn't take subpoenas and confirmation from Hunter Biden himself to get the rest of the press to pay attention.

I yield the floor.

### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

### CORONAVIRUS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, we learned a few minutes ago that new unemployment claims just hit their highest weekly total since mid-September. It is the largest 1-week jump since back in March, and the number of continuing claims—people struggling with joblessness on an ongoing basis—

which had plateaued for months but at least not increased, just ticked back up as well.

Our economic recovery thus far has been faster than expected. Americans are tough and resilient, but our people need another dose of support as we hope to close out our battle with this virus. We should be doing everything we can to prevent layoffs, create jobs where possible, and race toward the vaccines that will end this nightmare.

While Democrats hold the Paycheck Protection Program hostage over controversial State government bailouts, family businesses are closing their doors. While Democrats resist the kinds of commonsense legal protections that we put in place during past emergencies, our reopening and recovery is threatened by, according to one estimate—now, listen to this: So far, 6,500 lawsuits have been filed and counting—6,500 lawsuits filed and counting.

Here is what one litigator told one reporter a couple of days ago. These lawsuits are “pretty common these days. I have seen 10 like this over the last 30 days.”

The American Council on Education told Congress in May—in May—that colleges and universities need temporary but strong legal protections.

Now, our Democratic colleagues want to pretend they are bravely fighting big corporations, but they are really bullying small business owners and college presidents who have been pleading for these protections for months.

Our Democratic colleagues have not even let us pass noncontroversial money to invest in vaccine distribution—not unless the two parties settle a whole list of issues that are controversial the way that they want to settle.

So I hope our colleagues let Congress deliver more help soon. A lot of Americans simply cannot afford to wait.

● This “bullet” symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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# NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, now, in the meantime, yesterday, we began moving the conference report on the National Defense Authorization Act toward the floor.

For the information of all Senators, we should expect the potential for a late night tonight and the possibility of votes tomorrow.

Back in July, the Senate passed our version of this crucial annual bill. Now our colleagues on the conference committee have done their tough job and reconciled two different approaches so we do not leave our military in the lurch.

On Tuesday, the House passed the conference report with overwhelming bipartisan support. Now it is the Senate's turn to make it an unbroken 60-year streak of passing this legislation to keep our military strong and our homeland safe.

This NDAA will unlock more than \$740 billion for the training, tools, and cutting-edge equipment that our servicemembers and civilian employees need to defend American lives and American interests. It will give our troops the 3 percent pay raise they richly deserve. It will keep our forces ready to deter China and stand strong in the Indo-Pacific, and it will secure President Trump's major progress at modernizing our capabilities, our technologies, and our strategic nuclear deterrent.

This legislation will secure wins on priorities that all of us share. It does not contain every policy that either side would like to pass, but a huge number of crucial policies are included, and a lot of bad ideas were kept out. So I would encourage all our colleagues to vote to advance this must-pass bill.

## TRIBUTE TO CORY GARDNER

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, now, on one final matter, it is my honor today to pay tribute to a truly exceptional U.S. Senator, someone who arrived in this body with a full head of steam and a determination to cram as much service as possible into every day he got to wake up and serve his neighbors who sent him here.

Our good friend, CORY GARDNER, the junior Senator from Colorado, has been a man on a mission from the day he arrived. He already knew the institution. He was already one of the highest energy high-achievers that anybody who knew him had ever met. So he got to work, and he spent 6 years delivering a dizzying list of accomplishments.

If you have heard about CORY GARDNER's early days, you know that his high-speed, can-do attitude is nothing new. Case in point, one evening, when CORY was a boy, he and his friends got tired of their hoop sessions ending at sundown because the public basketball court lacked sufficient lighting. The group of friends considered how to rem-

edy this. CORY's dad happened to be a town councilman. So a little government relations took place right around the dinner table.

Well, no Senator who CORY ever pressed for a vote will be surprised to hear that the lighting infrastructure was soon adjusted, and the kids could take their pickup games into prime time.

So young CORY was no stranger to persistence or public service, but it was in high school that he scored an opportunity to taste a level beyond Yuma's local government. He won admission to the U.S. Senate Youth Program. It is a scholarship that brings promising students from around the country to these halls for a quick immersion experience.

Teenaged CORY GARDNER liked the looks of this place. He made a mental note. By the way, to this day, CORY, along with his fellow alumna, Senator COLLINS, continue to make sure that special experience is paid forward.

It didn't take CORY long to come back and begin strolling these hallways for real. After earning honors at Colorado State and a law degree from CU Boulder, he wound up working for our former colleague Senator Wayne Allard—and rising quickly through the ranks.

In short order, he developed a reputation as a highly effective advocate for Coloradans. In fact, he was so well liked, so effective, and so thoroughly the proud son of Yuma that folks started to wonder if it wasn't time for CORY to put his own name on a door somewhere. So it wasn't long before the men and women of Colorado's State House District 63 found out firsthand what happens when you hire CORY GARDNER to fight on your behalf. You get results big time.

Not much later, his neighbors then gave CORY a new assignment here in Congress. Again, Congressman GARDNER didn't just meet the bar as one out of 435. He excelled as a powerful, energetic voice on the most consequential issues. He brought home one win after another when it really mattered.

It didn't take long before another promotion came calling, and so, appropriately enough, the Senate's freshman class of 2014 included a new member from the land of "14ers"—what Coloradans call their peaks higher than 14,000 feet. CORY was already accustomed to altitude.

So here in this upper Chamber, Senator GARDNER hit the ground sprinting. I believe he has authored 11 standalone bills that have been signed into law in just 6 years. Without CORY's tireless work and his travels to the four corners of Colorado and beyond, the biggest conservation bill in a generation—the Great American Outdoors Act—would not have become law.

There has been his key role in the Supreme Court confirmation of fellow Coloradan Neil Gorsuch, his mission to move the Bureau of Land Management to Grand Junction, and, of course, the nuts-and-bolts constituent work that

CORY and his staff are famous for mastering.

This not-so-junior Senator has used Colorado values to improve Washington and Washington influence to advance his home State.

He dived head first into his leadership role on the East Asia Subcommittee on Foreign Relations. His work with regional allies helped drive the Senate to approve meaningful sanctions against North Korea, and the impact of the Asia Reassurance Initiative should echo long after all of us here today have left this scene.

The litany of CORY's work just simply does not end. There is the new, nationwide three-digit suicide prevention hotline. There is the fact that this freshman not only scrapped over a national defense issue with our late colleague Chairman John McCain—talk about fearlessness—but that he somehow emerged mostly unscathed and with a win on space launch vehicles to show for it.

But, like I said, one of the best aspects of CORY's operation is his almost obsessive focus on looking out for his people—one family and one story at a time.

That is why it is impossible to give a speech on Senator GARDNER without working your way to another name, Don Stratton.

When Don was first met with our colleague, the 95-year-old Navy veteran was living with his wife in Colorado Springs. But the story began 76 years earlier, when he was among the fortunate few sailors to survive the bombing of the USS *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor.

At 19, Don had survived severe burns but insisted on returning to combat with the fleet. After the war, he raised a family and wrote a book about his experiences. But Don's request to Senator GARDNER wasn't anything for himself. It concerned a comrade who had saved his life that day 79 years ago this very week.

At risk to himself, a sailor named Joe George had literally thrown the lifeline that brought Don and five shipmates to safety. But Joe's lifesaving efforts had gone unrecognized before his death.

For years, Don didn't even know who had saved him. So once he found out, Don Stratton made it his mission to ensure our Nation formalized our gratitude for his guardian angel.

Let's just say that the Strattons picked the right State to retire in. Colorado's junior Senator was on the case. CORY and his staff waded through tangles of bureaucracy. They appealed decisions all the way to the Secretary of Defense. And you better believe they secured that Bronze Star for PO1 Joe George, with the "V" device for valor to boot.

Don passed away earlier this year. By all accounts, he and his family had come to regard Senator GARDNER not just as an incredible advocate but as a true friend.

Now, in fairness, this same eagerness and almost maniacal problem-solving

can also get CORY in the occasional pickle. I remember recently that just months after the Senator was sworn in, he and I were on a codel together in the Middle East. I think the itinerary was something like eight countries in 6 days.

At one point, we were waiting to meet with a foreign leader. As everyone else was just waiting patiently in this grand palace, CORY spots what looks like a stray piece of paper lying on the floor. Earnestly thinking he should leave the place better than he found it, CORY bends over and picks up the trash—except, it wasn't trash. Just then, the Monarch rolls in with a color guard—a color guard that is looking anxiously for the floor marker that was supposed to indicate where to stop marching. Luckily, the only diplomatic fallout was a good laugh by all.

Actually, good laughs tend to follow CORY in his wake. Our colleague finds humor in the “everyday” like few can and shares it freely.

I understand one of his favorite stories concerns a chat in the well with yours truly and former Senator Orrin Hatch. CORY was filling me in on his efforts to legalize marijuana in States like his. Orrin comes by, and sensing an ally, I pulled him in. I said:

Orrin, is this true? What the heck is going on out West?

Without missing a beat, our friend from Utah, a member of the LDS Church, shook his head sadly and said: “First, it was tea. Then, coffee. And now this!”

CORY's version of this story comes complete with his finest Hatch and McConnell impersonations. Believe me, he has the voices down pat.

For 6 years, Coloradans have been represented by this remarkable person who lives and works with relentless focus and infectious joy: globe-trotting diplomacy, a thick stack of signature bills signed into law, and generational accomplishments that were only possible because he was here.

CORY likes to say himself: “Not bad for a boy from Yuma, CO!” We know what he means, but I have to observe that CORY's roots and his accomplishments are not in conflict—quite the contrary. It is only because CORY GARDNER is exactly who he is that he is able to do what he does.

CORY, everyone knows darn well your transition is no “retirement.” This is a brief pause between great chapters. I bet Jaime will call it a victory if she, Alyson, Thatcher, and Caitlyn can just get you to sit still—just sit still—and stay home through the holidays.

But we all know it will take about 5 minutes before you have found a dozen new ways to keep doing big things, winning victories on behalf of others, and paying forward the ways in which you have been blessed. Colorado and your country aren't finished with you yet, not by a long shot. So thank you for everything. We will miss you badly around here, but we can't wait to see what course you chart next.

## RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

## CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

## LEGISLATIVE SESSION

### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2021—Conference Report—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the conference report to accompany H.R. 6395, which will be stated by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6395), to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2021 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes, having met, have agreed that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment and the Senate agree to the same, signed by a majority of the conferees on the part of both Houses.

(The conference report is printed in the House proceedings of the RECORD of December 3, 2020.)

### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

### CORONAVIRUS

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, with each passing day, we get another round of news underscoring how costly this pandemic has been. Yesterday, over 3,000 Americans—3,000—died from COVID-19, the highest single-day death toll to date.

If you were making a list of some of the deadliest days in American history, your mind would jump to Gettysburg, Antietam, Pearl Harbor, or 9/11. You can now add to that somber list last Thursday, Wednesday, last Tuesday, last Friday, and yesterday. Each day, nearly 2,500 Americans or more lost their lives to COVID in the course of a single day.

Now time is running out for Congress to finish our most pressing priority: passing an emergency COVID relief bill to help American families in need.

Right now, there is one clear path to getting an outcome: a bipartisan group of Senators and House Members who have reached an initial agreement on another emergency relief bill. In the spirit of compromise and for the sake of getting something done for the American people, Speaker PELOSI and I have endorsed those efforts as a framework for a final bill.

Everyone knows that this bipartisan proposal is the only real game in town at the moment, the only proposal with enough bipartisan support to, hopefully, pass both Houses of Congress before the end of the year. Everyone knows that, it seems, except Leader MCCONNELL, who continues to stand in the way of bipartisan progress and who seems to wake up each morning with a new round of outlandish reasons why Democrats are somehow to blame for all the world's ills.

As the bipartisan group of Senators continue to work toward a final agreement, I want to address an incredibly false equivalency that has been drawn between two provisions: providing aid to State and local services—essential State and local services—and granting sweeping immunity to corporations that put their workers in harm's way during the pandemic.

You will hear voices say: Democrats want to fund State and local services while Republicans—that is, Leader MCCONNELL—want a corporate liability shield. Each side wants something that the other side doesn't want to accept. But as I said, this is a false equivalency, incredibly false, for two reasons.

First, State and local aid has broad bipartisan support, totally unlike the Republican leader's liability provision, which is expressly partisan. Let me say that again because it is important. There is strong bipartisan support for State and local aid. There is not the same broad bipartisan support for sweeping corporate immunity.

Second, the two policies are not remotely equivalent in terms of importance or relevance to what is going on in our country right now. When we talk about providing Federal aid so the States don't have to cut essential services, we are talking about saving lives, and we are talking about saving jobs. We are talking about boosting the economy. According to the Congressional Budget Office, money for State and local government creates the best bang for the buck for the economy from any spending Congress is considering.

State and local aid is a policy with a nationwide reach. It would solve a real, immediate problem. On the other hand, when Republicans talk about giving corporate indemnity, they are talking about a solution in search of a problem. To date, there have been 20—only 20—some-odd personal injury lawsuits filed in the entire country.

The bottom line is, one provision solves a real problem in our country; the other does not. The two sides are not remotely equivalent, and it is not a trade that makes any sense in terms of the well-being of the American people.

Now, I know the Republican leader and Senate Republicans want to help small businesses and re-up the popular PPP to help prevent businesses from folding and American workers from being laid off. So do I. So do Democrats. Well, guess what. State and local relief is also about American workers

getting laid off too. If you want PPP so small businesses don't lay off people, why wouldn't you want State and local aid so governments don't lay off people? They are the same people who need to feed their families, pay their rent, pay their mortgage, and get on with life.

State and local relief is about American workers getting laid off. It is about firefighters getting laid off. It is about first responders getting laid off. It is about teachers getting laid off, busdrivers, sanitation workers, essential employees—men and women who have been working since the pandemic began and risking their lives to keep our country moving. It is impossible to imagine any community in this country functioning without them.

And this morning we learned that an additional 1.4 million Americans filed new unemployment claims—a huge spike from the previous week. If you want to save jobs, if you want to make sure those numbers don't go up, we need PPP for small businesses, and we need State and local aid for our governments because both aid those entities and prevent people from being laid off and unemployment from going up.

The liability provisions of the leader have nothing to do with that and in fact only affect a very small number of lawsuits.

So if we are going to be here on the floor and talking about saving jobs, we have to talk about saving the jobs of essential public employees. They deserve our help too. They are no different than anyone else, whether they are in a red State or a blue State.

Make no mistake, right now there is one person—just one person—standing in the way, and that is Leader McCONNELL.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Madam President, now on another matter, despite the fact that the Presidential election ended well over a month ago and that, by now, every single State in the country and the District of Columbia has certified results, there are still many on the political right who refuse to accept reality.

Today, amazingly enough, 17 Republican attorneys general will meet with President Trump to discuss their desperate and wildly irresponsible lawsuit, which aims to literally overturn the will of the people on the grounds they didn't like the results.

This has gone beyond ridiculous. No court in this country has found any of President Trump's claims of widespread voter fraud credible. No serious State election official, Democrat or Republican, has found them credible. Even the Trump administration's Justice Department, so browbeaten into political activities over the past 4 years, has not found a scrap of evidence that would affect the final result.

Yet, rather than accept the simple truth that Joe Biden will be the next President of the United States, there are actually sitting Senators and Congress Members who prefer to under-

mine our democracy by indulging President Trump's wild conspiracy theories about a stolen election.

Here in the Senate, the chairman of the Homeland Security Committee announced yesterday that next week he will convene a hearing on "election irregularities." When is this nonsense, detrimental to our democracy, going to end? When?

It is already deeply irresponsible for my Republican colleagues, many of them, to stay silent about President Trump's deliberate attempts to poison Americans' faith in our elections. It is deeply irresponsible that there hasn't been a full-throated defense of the validity of our elections by Republican Senators and the Republican leader, who still refuse to call Joe Biden "President-Elect." But to go one step further and use a Senate committee as a platform to spread misinformation about our own elections is beyond the pale.

So, in conclusion, Chairman JOHNSON should call off this ridiculous charade of a Senate hearing immediately. If he won't, Leader McCONNELL should intervene to ensure that the committee does not indulge such quackery and conspiracy theories, and he should acknowledge the results of the election and make clear it is time to move on, just as he was happy to do so when the shoe was on the other foot. Doing otherwise would add fuel to the fire that is undermining faith in our wonderful democracy.

#### TRIBUTE TO PAT ROBERTS

Madam President, finally, just a note: I, too, want to bid a fond, fond farewell to the Senator from Kansas, a wonderful guy and a great guy.

I learned how good he was when we met on the basketball courts in the House. He set the best picks of anybody. He would quietly sneak up on you, you would be dribbling or moving, and boom. He knows.

But as good as he was at picks, he was very fine at legislating, and he is just a fine human being whom I think just about every Member on this side of the aisle will very much miss.

So, PATTY, we wish you and your family the very, very best.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Kansas.

#### FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, my colleagues, first, I thank the leadership on both sides for this opportunity to give a PAT ROBERTS "adios, amigos" speech.

The story of how I got into politics is a pretty straight family path. As a fourth-generation Kansan, my great-grandfathers on both sides of the Roberts-Patrick family were pioneer newspaper editors who came to Kansas as crusading abolitionists. To say I bleed fourth-generation printer's ink would be very close to the truth.

However, the main influence that drew me to public service was my dad, Wes Roberts, who was a newspaper

man. And soon journalism led to politics. He served as chief of staff and adviser for several Kansas Governors, becoming then the State Republican chairman.

In 1952, my dad was asked to head up the Citizens for Ike campaign, which was a genuine army of volunteers made up of legions of veterans, women's groups, and mostly Republicans who wanted a candidate who could win. Plus, they really liked Ike.

At 16, in my dad's tow, I was the sergeant at arms at the 1952 convention, back when conventions actually chose the nominee for President. I vividly remember two lasting experiences: The renowned Senator from Illinois, Everett Dirksen, was a key leader in the Bob Taft campaign. Senator Dirksen, known for his long, eloquent speeches, was in the midst of his convention remarks when the entire New York delegation, led by former Governor and Presidential candidate Tom Dewey, marched in, and with considerable noise they took their seats.

Dirksen paused and, pointing directly at Dewey and with his booming voice, said this: You, sir, have led this party—this Republican Party—down to defeat in 1944 and again in 1948. Don't do it again.

Whereupon, the entire New York delegation stood up and gave Dirksen the raspberry, and I thought: This is what adults do at a convention?

(Laughter.)

One morning I was in a meeting with my dad with the top Ike campaign brass—Dewey, Lodge, Brownell, and other GOP movers and shakers. He told me to sit and be quiet. He was in the midst of suggesting the "fair play" amendment, given that the new Ike delegates from the solid South had surprised the old guard and won delegate seats at the State convention, only to be replaced by the old guard at later surprise conventions. Unlike MacArthur, old guards never die or fade away.

My dad said there was no downside if they lost, and he believed they could win a majority of delegates. The "fair play" amendment passed, and Ike won on the first ballot. I thought to myself: Wow. My dad actually helped Ike win.

I met the general. I shook his hand—and then again at the 1953 inaugural ceremonies when my dad became the Republican national chairman.

It was these reflections, told to my great friend and Medal of Honor recipient Senator Danny Inouye, that prompted him to say: PAT, I fought for Ike. You met him. It is up to you to get this memorial done.

And after a 21-year effort, we did just that, with help from Bob Dole, Jim Baker, Susan Eisenhower, the Eisenhower family, and Senator LISA MURKOWSKI, who kept the Ike commission going through these tough years. Finally, we now have an appropriate, if not stunning, memorial to the Kansan who saved Western democracy and World War II and led America onto the world stage.

With the final dedication of the Dwight David Eisenhower Memorial at the end of my Senate career, it is a full family-circle accomplishment. If my dad helped elect Ike, then the least I could do was to lead the effort to make the memorial on the Mall to a great general and President a reality.

In a homecoming address, Eisenhower famously said: "The proudest thing I can claim is that I am from Abilene." He was a small-town Kansas boy who saved Western democracy and led the Nation for 8 years with peace and prosperity.

Well, I too come from a small town in Kansas. So how did this boy from Holton, KS, become the longest serving Member of Congress in Kansas history? Like father, like son. I graduated from K-State with a degree in journalism. My father joined the Marines in World War II and saw action in both Okinawa and Iwo Jima. I joined in peacetime and served in Okinawa and was part of the first Marine contingent to return to Iwo Jima on the 15th anniversary of that battle.

So from Marine captain to newspaper editor and news director of a radio station in Arizona, I dropped everything and drove to Washington when Senator Frank Carlson asked me to come and work for him. Within weeks of leaving Phoenix, I was the chief of staff for Senator Frank Carlson, a venerable and highly respected Senator who made his mark on Kansas history as the only person to serve our State as Congressman, Governor, Senator, UN delegate, and the founder of the National Prayer Breakfast.

Life changed dramatically at that time. I always thought a bachelor was a man who did not make the same mistake once.

(Laughter.)

Then into my life came a tall, blonde, blue-eyed magnolia blossom from South Carolina. Franki and I have been married for 51 years and have been blessed with three children and eight grandchildren. I am who I am because Franki is my wife and we are parents to David, Ashleigh, Ann Wesley, Papa PAT to Lorena, Patrick, Sayaka, Lilly, Charlie—Charlie bear—Miles, Oliver, and Graham.

My family is my crowning—my crowning—achievement.

Senator Frank was a great mentor. He always said: There are no self-made men or women in public office; it is your friends and family who make you what you are.

He taught me a great lesson: Your true friends stand behind you when you are taking the bows and beside you when there are any boos.

Following the 2-year stint with the Senator, I was privileged to work 12 years for the newly elected Congressman from the big First District of Kansas as his chief of staff.

Keith Sebelius was a wonderful man, a leader on the House Agriculture Committee and the Interior Committee, especially with regard to improvements

and restoration of our national parks. Upon Keith's retirement, a group of party stalwarts encouraged me to run. I thought about it, talked to Franki. Franki simply said: Well, this is what you always wanted to do. Let's do it.

So for 9 months, with no paycheck or health insurance and limited savings, with three young children, Dodge City became our home. Most sane candidates would not attempt to go door-to-door in a district larger than most States; however, with a lot of help, we won a tough primary and a not-so-tough general election—the first of 24 straight victories.

I was ranking to Chairman Kika de la Garza when the 1994 revolution put Republicans in the majority after being in the wilderness for over 40 years. Suddenly I was chairman.

In 1996, we achieved a major farm policy reform, changing 40 years of farm bill policy. To this day, farmers still have the freedom to farm what they want.

I have had the honor and privilege of representing Kansas for 16 years in the House and now 24 in the Senate. The PAT ROBERTS of 1980 was fighting for Kansas values and for the issues that affected the daily lives and pocket-books of all Kansans.

As the PAT ROBERTS of 1996, I promised that if elected to the Senate, when Kansas spoke, Washington would listen.

I have held six gavels in the House and Senate, and that in and of itself might be a record, but it is what happened during my tenures as chairman that I believe I have had the most lasting effects. It is not just having the gavel; it is what you do with it.

Taking part and leading eight farm bills in the House and the Senate, I have touched and improved many lives, and I have always been mindful of what farm families do for our Nation and a troubled and hungry world as we crafted each bill.

I was fortunate that my first committee assignments were to serve on the Armed Services Committee as well as Agriculture. Strom Thurmond was the very senior chairman who, as the country song goes, never even called me by my name. I was recognized as "the Senator who had the good sense to marry a fine, beautiful, South Carolina girl."

(Laughter.)

My role on the Armed Services Committee was simple. It was to collect the small change left by the Air Force to enable the Marine Corps to continue to be our Nation's force in readiness, not to mention the new Warfighting Lab.

I also had the privilege of being the Senate Intelligence Committee chairman for 4 years during the Iraq war and led the committee's investigation that exposed a worldwide intelligence failure—and it resulted in a blueprint of the 9/11 Commission and a better intelligence community that did keep our country safe.

As chairman of the brandnew Emerging Threat Subcommittee within the

Armed Services Committee, I traveled to cities within what remained of the former Soviet Union. In one of the Soviet Union secret cities, we discovered a lab that had developed strains of pathogens that could do irreparable harm to our Nation's food supply. Talk about an evil empire. I caution my colleagues: That threat still exists, even as we endeavor to continue the worldwide fight against COVID-19.

It has taken over 20 years to respond to this threat with a biological containment and research lab, and we are still not done. I have put a lifetime of work into NBADF, the National Bio and Agriculture Defense Facility—Paws from Manhattan, KS—home of Kansas State University with the ever optimistic Wildcats, Manhattan, KS. It will soon serve as the first line of defense to protect American agriculture and the world's food supply.

I have also been privileged to serve on the HELP Committee. Thank you to LAMAR ALEXANDER and to PATTY MURRAY for supporting my amendments, especially with regard to rural healthcare.

And, finally, I have chaired the Senate Ethics Committee for 24 years. I have tried to resign twice. I don't know what I have done wrong, but I have been a member of that committee for what I am sure is a record 24 years. I think they just want somebody there to say: Wait a minute. Fifteen years ago, we tried that, and it didn't work. Maybe we ought to start over.

As I move out of my office—formerly a veritable museum of pictures, awards, and stuff that we all collect—all that remains are the barren beige walls, full of memories and stories—all of which, of course, are classified. However, I still have my Marine Corps bumper sticker: "To err is human, to forgive is divine." Neither is Marine Corps policy. Marines never give up. We take the hill. The discipline and focus I learned in the Marine Corps never failed me in my toughest battles here in the Senate. Semper fi. Semper fi, Dan. And still in the office, of course, is a framed statement with the advice of LBJ, Lyndon Baines Johnson: "Sometimes you just have to hunker down like a jackass in a hailstorm and just take it."

On that note, if you want to avoid a hailstorm, get a good staff. You are only as good as your staff—and I have the best staff in Washington. I know everybody thinks that, but I really do because they always—they always took the hill.

My chiefs of staff, Leroy Towns, Jackie Cottrell, and Chad Tennpenny; my DC deputy chief of staff, Amber Kirchhoefer; and my Ag Committee staff directors, Mike Seyfert, Joel Leftwich, and James Glueck—they led the posse. And they always checked to make sure that the herd was still there and we didn't ride into any boxed canyons.

To the staff currently in this Chamber with me, and those watching on C-

SPAN, thank you. It has been an absolute privilege and an honor to have you call me boss. Always remember you are a family. I couldn't have asked for a more loyal and dedicated or talented staff.

To be a Member of this U.S. Senate is a true privilege—a working family. It is the greatest deliberative body in the world. But today as compared to when I first came to the Senate, it is the deliberative part that gives me great concern. I regret the loss of comity—the ability to work together or just to get along. Sadly, gridlock appears to be the new normal. However, it doesn't have to be this way.

I am very proud, I have had the privilege of being chairman of a committee that does get along, and we do get things done—the Senate Agriculture Committee. And it is really not that hard. First, we represent the best of our Nation—farmers, ranchers, growers, and the entire food value chain. We know that we have a collective job to do on their behalf—and we do just that. Second, we convene in a small hearing room—in pre-COVID times—right across the table from each other. Third, for the most part, we actually know one another.

I used to be the ranking Republican when Senator STABENOW was the chairperson. We worked together on the 2014 farm bill. In 2018, this wasn't our first rodeo. We knew, regardless of what each of us wanted, passing a farm bill was paramount. We had an agreement—no surprises, no press the other one did not know about. And we held hearings together, all over the country. I went to the campus of Michigan State and wore green and white; DEBORAH came to Kansas State and wore purple. We not only agreed to work together, we gave staff marching orders to do the same. We also became friends. I protected her and she protected me in conference. And we got 87 votes, setting a record for a farm bill—standing right there now where our leader is now sitting. I was trying for 90. He said: What do you want? I said: I want justice. He said: No, you want blood.

Now, ordinarily, we do not vote alike—Senator STABENOW and myself—but we remain friends. And that is the way it should be. Friendship and comity is the norm for the Ag Committee. It could be for the whole Senate. Though, things in this great country are rocky, I have a news flash: These really are not the worst of times.

When I first came to Washington in early 1967, our Nation experienced the tragedy of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. Within hours, Washington was on fire, marines on the Capitol steps with sandbags, automatic weapons with live ammunition. Advised to leave the beltway, I mistakenly thought I could get to my parents' apartment house. This was BF, before Franki. I wanted to take the Rock Creek Parkway. No traffic was moving, tear gas in the air, random gunshots. I decided to jump the curb and drive on

the sidewalks and eventually on the Mall itself. I was in a little Volkswagen. The police told me the parkway was closed. When they focused on the next drivers, I jumped the curb, and I took off on the parkway.

As bad as that period of time was, it was not as bad as the military march on thousands of World War I veterans demonstrating on the Mall and setting up camp in the mid-1930s and demanding bonuses. President Hoover ordered them removed by the military—led by none other than Douglas MacArthur, complete with a tank, horse cavalry—with swords—and armed troops. The “bonus” vets were quickly dispersed and rounded up.

Fast forward, the 1968 Chicago riots, Kent State and the horrible shooting of students by untrained guardsmen.

Senator Bobby Kennedy, running for President, only suffered the same fate as his brother.

And then came Watergate. Those days were tough. It was almost impossible not to face the bitter splits over our political parties and even families.

Today, we are in the midst of a worldwide pandemic, and even that has fallen into politics. But it doesn't have to be. At home, Kansas has been dealt its fair share of hardships, but in Kansas—as JERRY MORAN knows—we don't let disasters define us. We grab our bootstraps and get to work. That is our normal. JERRY will remember multiple prairie fires that have ravaged Kansas farms and ranches: the Anderson Creek fire in 2016, the Starbuck fire in 2017. Folks, these flames were 60 feet high and moving 60 miles an hour. Those folks have learned to adapt and build back with the help of USDA disaster programs.

Then we had the tale of Treece, KS—once a boom town, turned toxic waste dump. It was an extremely unsafe and unhealthy place for folks to live. We worked with the Obama administration and its EPA. I mean, really. No less, we relocated them to safer places, literally, and greener pastures because working across party lines is what we do in Kansas.

Let's not forget about the EF tornado in 2007 that completely destroyed, wiped out the community of Greensburg, KS. I immediately called President Bush. He was up at Camp David. I called from a McDonald's in the next town and asked for help. When I hung up, there were 25 people gathered around me listening.

One old-timer, in his bib overalls, said to me: PAT, was that the President of the United States?

I said: You bet.

He turned to his wife and said: Mother, I told you. I told you PAT was a talking to the President, and we would get help.

And FEMA was there the next day.

In a FEMA-issued tent, I talked to the graduating senior class, whose school and homes were but a pile of debris, and told them: You are the class of hope and destiny. The following

year, President George W. Bush spoke at graduation in Greensburg. The size of that audience matched the size of hope that Kansans had for their future and the rebuilding of their lives.

I am reminded of the optimism of those speeches and the optimism that I have for our country. We endured these hardships. We came out on the other side. We did it by changing the old normal and creating a new normal.

Here in the Senate, only we can decide what our new normal is, and we ought to get to know one another. We don't know one another. We don't have to let the apparent gravitational pull of more and more politics and pursuit of power to change what our Founders gave us—the creation of a nation, of liberty and freedom, the envy of the world, and to literally move the U.S. Senate from the moorings of its historic and great past to simply be a rubberstamp for radical change.

The beauty is that we can decide what our normal is. We don't have to let circumstances dictate our future. Let us, once again, become a body of respect, humility, cooperation, achievement, and, yes, friendship. That can and should be our new normal. The entire country could use a little bit of what we say in Kansas: *ad astra per aspera*; to the stars through difficulty.

So as my time in the Senate draws to a close, I have done my best to improve the lives of Kansans and all Americans, for decades, to accomplish big and small things so that this generation and future generations might live and achieve the American dream.

To Kansas, I say a humble thank you. Thank you for the privilege of representing you in this great body.

To my colleagues, thank you for fighting on behalf of our great Nation and alongside me to preserve this Chamber. It has been such a privilege. As I ride off into the sunset to create a new normal for Franki and me, I will be cheering for the Senate to rebuild the bridges of comity that will create a new normal.

My colleagues, my time is up. Thank you for yours.

I yield the floor.

(Applause.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCOTT of Florida). The Senator from Kansas.

#### TRIBUTE TO PAT ROBERTS

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, thank you.

Senator ROBERTS, thank you for your comments.

I am nervous today, and more nervous now that I have heard you speak, because I am concerned that this may be for the first time in our lives that I have ever spoken longer than you. That makes me nervous.

“I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same.”

These are words spoken by PAT ROBERTS more than once, but on September 15, 1958, age 22, PAT ROBERTS

joined the Marine Corps, and he has lived by his oath, by his promise to do exactly that every day thereafter and in every job he pursued here in the Congress of the United States, in the House and the Senate.

He indicated he served as the chief of staff for Senator Frank Carlson, one of those Kansans who served the U.S. Senate and is so highly regarded even today. He served as the chief of staff for Congressman Keith Sebelius.

I met PAT ROBERTS 50 years ago, in 1969. A few years later, in 1974, I became an intern in the office of Congressman Sebelius. PAT has been my boss for 45 years.

When I describe PAT, I tell people our most common conversation is never spoken. It is symbols. PAT does this: Come here; sit down. Every time I tell PAT this, he, in his Jack Benny voice, will say: "Now cut that out." But for 45 years: Come here; sit down.

And PAT, while you discount that and I highlight it, it has been some of the most enjoyable time in my life, where I have had the opportunity to be your friend and to listen to what you had to say. I suppose if I thought long and hard, I might find something that wasn't good advice, but I can't remember it. So everything in those circumstances was something that I continue to value today. I learned something in every conversation.

Knowing PAT for 50 years, I told him that he just keeps me around and he puts up with me because I have at least heard of the people he knows.

He does know people. PAT and I both grew up in times of politics in which your relationship with voters, your relationship with constituents, your relationship with Kansans was paramount. PAT knew the school superintendent in every community. PAT knew the executive of the chamber of commerce and the newspaper editor. He knew the president of the county Farm Bureau.

I don't know how many times I heard PAT say: I am going home to talk to the coffee klatch in Dodge City or I am going to sit on the wagon tongue and I am going to hear from Kansans what they have to tell us.

Politics, as you heard from Senator ROBERTS, is in his blood and in his family—Wes Roberts, the chairman of the Republican National Committee; Frankie Roberts, the staff person for Strom Thurmond. It is in his blood and in his family. It is not just politics, but public service.

In 1980, PAT ROBERTS decided to be an office holder, not an office staffer. The first letter I ever wrote to an editor of a Kansas paper was to my hometown, where his primary opponent lived. I supported PAT ROBERTS in a letter to the editor when his opponent was somebody who was highly regarded and a friend of mine. But PAT ROBERTS' friendship and his commitment—who he is as a human being and his sworn oath—told me that PAT ROBERTS was the person I wanted to be my Congressman. The constituent in me said: This

is the guy I want serving me and my fellow Kansans.

He won that election in January of 1981 and became a House Member representing the First Congressional District of Kansas, known in our State as "The Big First." The geography of that district today—and almost true when PAT was the Congressman—is the size of the State of Illinois. The largest city is Salina, which then had a population of about 35,000. It is a rural place, and it fit the PAT ROBERTS' mode of representation, which was, I know them and they know me.

He was elected with a significant majority of voters. He won seven times to be reelected to the House of Representatives. He never received less than 60 percent of the vote, and in his last election to the House of Representatives, he received nearly 78 percent of Kansans' approval. Sitting on those wagon tongues and listening in on those coffee klatches had its consequence.

It is the kind of politics that PAT described that I hope we return to, in which it is all about taking care of Kansans, taking care of Americans, setting aside our differences and finding common ground, just as Kansans—particularly, rural Kansans—have to do in their community.

On January 3, 1997, PAT was sworn in as a Member of this body. I asked Robin, my wife, what it is I might say today. She said she remembers in about early 1996—maybe late 1995—she answered the phone, and it was PAT ROBERTS. What he said was, Tell JERRY to put his running shoes on.

PAT ROBERTS gave me the advantage of knowing his plans well in advance of the public or potential opponents, and set the stage in my life as somebody whom you would look at and think there is no chance of ever being a U.S. Senator, but PAT ROBERTS found value in me and gave me the opportunity to serve where I serve today. I never thought I would catch up with Pat in the House of Representatives. I never thought I would catch up with PAT ROBERTS in the U.S. Senate, but because he and his friends took an interest in me and because this is America, that became possible.

PAT is only the 34th Kansan to serve a term in the U.S. Senate. I like that number. PAT will recognize that 34 is special to Kansans. We are the 34th State admitted to the Union, and he is the 34th Senator to serve a term from Kansas in this body.

PAT ROBERTS told me to put my running shoes on, gave me a chance, and we have had those running shoes on for a long time thereafter.

PAT is that fourth generation Kansan who knows us. I would say one of his greatest contributions to our State, to the Midwest, and to the country has been his distinguished career in leadership in agriculture. The farm bills that he mentioned, the work with Democrats and Republicans coming together, fighting for competitive and fair markets for our producers, the sup-

port for crop insurance—there is no question that Kansas and American farmers, ranchers, and producers had a strong voice in Congress as a result of PAT ROBERTS being here.

He is distinguished by being the first Member of Congress to chair both the House and Senate Agriculture Committees. In the next Congress, we will begin the process of writing another farm bill, and it will be the first farm bill since the Agriculture and Food Act of 1981 that will be written without PAT ROBERTS' direct influence.

However, Senator ROBERTS' legacy and impact on farm policy will be felt for generations to come as a result of his work in the 1996 Freedom to Farm Act, the 2000 Agriculture Risk Protection Act that modernized crop insurance, and many, many other pieces of consequential legislation.

In his early years in the Senate, as Senator ROBERTS indicated, he led the Intelligence Committee. This was during the 9/11 attacks. Under his leadership, the committee conducted a sweeping and exhausting review of U.S. intelligence, which led to critical reforms to put us in a better position to know more and protect Americans better. That work in intelligence reform earned him a spot in a very distinguished guest speaker program, the prestigious Landon Lecture Series of Kansas State University.

Combining his experience in agriculture, intelligence, and in defense, Senator ROBERTS has laid the groundwork for the National Bio and Agro-defense Facility at his alma mater in Manhattan, KS. It brings great opportunity to our State, and we are so pleased to have PAT's accomplishments benefit the country and our State for generations to come.

PAT ROBERTS deserves great credit for the Eisenhower Memorial. I have been around this issue for a long time. It has been challenging from the get-go. Nothing was easy, and controversy apparently follows every new memorial on the National Mall. I have no doubt that in the absence of PAT's leadership, his bringing people together and perhaps, yes, his sense of humor, Kansans' President Eisenhower would never be seen honored and respected at the memorial we now have.

He, Senator ROBERTS, advocates for policies he believes in. He compromises when necessary, and he always has a way of bringing everyone together, often with a joke ready to ease the tensions when things get stressful.

I always used to tell him: I saw that, once again, you became the funniest Member of Congress. You got an award.

He always would correct me: No, I am not the funniest Member; I am the most humorous Member.

Many times he has been designated the most humorous Member of Congress.

Some of the most important work he has done for Kansans won't be memorialized in laws passed or signed into law here in Washington, DC, but in the



meaningful change he made back home among the people whom he and I care for and love. How about the rural hospitals he fought for to keep their doors open or the family farms that are still operating because of decisions and efforts he made? He has consistently, continuously fought to get farmers and ranchers, to get rural communities, to get the people of Kansas the right resources at the right time.

I have had the challenge of following in politics in my life, in both the House and the Senate, those humorous people—PAT ROBERTS being one. The greatest challenge, probably for both of us, is Bob Dole. How can you ever follow Bob Dole in any way and how can you compete with his sense of humor and, particularly, his wit? So I asked Senator Dole what it is I might say on this floor to honor PAT ROBERTS. As usual, he took my responsibilities away from me and said: Here, just read this.

So these are the words of Bob Dole:

One of my first memories of Pat was when he worked for the late great Sen. Pat Carlson. Of course that was well over 50 years ago, when Pat was just a young child and I was . . . well . . . maybe just a teenager. Pat has the best sense of humor of anyone in Congress—I'm not sure how he acquired it, but I know it serves him well today. Pat—I honestly don't know what it is like to be retired, but people tell me it's great. Be forewarned, though, the rest of the world doesn't operate exactly like the Senate . . .

If anything goes wrong or breaks at home, your trusted Chief of Staff isn't on speed dial to put out the fires. Plus, there's nobody to dial your calls for you anyway.

Put your alarm clock up for sale on eBay—(1) somebody out there might want to buy a beat-up clock once owned by a famous Senator and (2) you won't need to wake up early ever again in your life . . . unless you just want to go sit in the D.C. traffic for old time's sake.

You'll have to brew your own coffee . . . so buy one of those space-age looking contraptions or make friends with your local barista.

You'll have to share elevators with the rest of the world now, so just stop looking for that "Senators Only" sign.

Your grandkids are now your information technology department, so reward them accordingly if you want your computer to be up and running. Or just ask Alexa.

But in all seriousness, Pat, you've earned some time off for a job well done in Congress over these past 40 years. Kansas has certainly benefited from your steadfast leadership. You care about the Sunflower State, and you care about our nation—and that's always been what matters most. Your strength of character, plain-spoken optimism, and determination to make a positive difference in people's lives—that's what people will remember about your legacy of public service here. You're a great American and a dear friend, and Elizabeth and I wish you nothing but the best for you and Franki from here on out. One important point of clarification, though—the filibuster simply doesn't work at home.

God Bless America,  
BOB DOLE.

I know that all of us and Kansans have great regard for Senator Dole. I also know that Kansans and all of us have great regard for PAT ROBERTS. My

guess, in knowing PAT, is that his role model—the person he may admire the most—is that Kansan Dwight Eisenhower. In the book "How Ike Led," which PAT gave us all a copy of, I read that Ike led with a sense of humor as part of the art of leadership of getting along with people and getting things done. He also said the supreme quality for leadership was, unquestionably, integrity. Without it, no real success was possible no matter whether it was on a section gang, a football field, in the Army, or in an office.

PAT ROBERTS, I have no doubt that you have lived up to that role model—that Kansan who is esteemed around the world—and you have led like Ike led. I thank you and your staff for all that you have done for Kansas and for America. I thank you for what you have done for me and our team. Your mom and your dad—your dad, you say, got you started in this politics world. I knew your mom; I never met your dad. They would be so proud of you for the service that you are completing this term.

To Franki, David, Ashleigh, and Anne-Wesley, thank you for your support and engagement. It is not PAT ROBERTS—it is the family—and you have all been engaged in his politics and his public service day in and day out.

Robba and I wish you and Franki absolutely the best.

I told a Kansas farmer what I was doing but didn't ask him for any advice as to what to say. His last comment—he is a rancher from Elkhart—was, "As a Kansan, I would want to know that my Senator fought for my values in DC and that the Senator did everything he could to ensure our part of the world was a priority to the Nation."

To the rancher in Elkhart, PAT ROBERTS is exactly that—a Kansan who fought for our values at home while in Washington and did everything he could do to ensure that our part of the world was not forgotten in this part of the world.

So, PAT, I guess you said thank you to Kansans, and you said thank you to this Senate. I think it is time for me to say in return, on behalf of all Kansans, thank you for your service to our Nation and to our State. For a life being well lived, you are the example. Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to someone who has been more than a colleague, who has been more than just a friend. In fact, he has been a true partner in this Senate, and that has paid huge dividends for farmers and families and communities across our country.

Senator PAT ROBERTS has been here in the Senate for a long time. Some might even call him an institution. In fact, at a recent Ag Committee event, I joked that, as a young man, he advised George Washington on farm policy. That might be a bit of an exag-

geration, but his legacy can hardly be overstated. He has left a lasting imprint on farm and food policy in this country. As has been said, he is the only person to have written a farm bill as both the chairs of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees.

Those of us who have had the honor of working alongside PAT on the Senate Agriculture Committee know there is no other place like it. It is a place where we leave politics at the door and focus on ways we can improve people's lives and livelihoods in rural America. We do that because we know agriculture isn't a red issue or a blue issue. Agriculture and food policy affect all of us—everyone—and nobody knows that better than Senator ROBERTS.

Senator ROBERTS and I have never given up on farm bills, and we never gave up on passing the 2018 farm bill even when it got tough. At the beginning of the negotiations, we made a commitment to work together. We visited each other's home States. In fact, twice we visited. I arrived in the Little Apple of Manhattan, KS, wearing K-State purple, which, again on his behalf, I am wearing today. Then, a few weeks later, PAT came to Frankenmuth, MI, and wore an MSU green tie.

Around this time, we also made a commitment to each other to write a bipartisan farm bill. Throughout the entire process, I never doubted that PAT had my back, even when negotiations got tough, and he knew I had his back as well. Thanks to this partnership, we achieved the most bipartisan bill in history. As he said, the first time around, it was 86 votes, and then the final bill was 87 votes. That was the most "yes" votes on a farm bill ever. We were able to do that because we had a unique partnership built on trust and mutual respect, and the outcome was a strong, bipartisan bill that provided certainty for farmers—from wheat farmers in Kansas to cherry growers in Michigan. Part of that certainty was with special crop insurance, and nobody deserves more credit for the foundation of that important safety net than Senator PAT ROBERTS.

PAT is also a champion for food security and agriculture exports and agriculture research, which is why he and I worked together to establish the Foundation for Food and Agriculture Research in the 2014 farm bill. He also understands the importance of protecting food assistance for children and for families. I was honored to share the Food Research and Action Center Distinguished Service Award with Senator ROBERTS last year for our teamwork.

Above all, it has been an honor working with PAT because he is truly one of a kind. From the moment I met him, it became abundantly clear that he was not the run-of-the-mill politician. Some say it is his unflappable nature. Others say it is his unique sense of humor. Yet, to me, PAT ROBERTS is defined by his loyalty, his integrity, and his dedication to the people of Kansas.



He started his career as a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps. It is clear he has carried that courage and conviction with him throughout his entire life. As he said, he was also a newspaper reporter, which makes sense when you think about his dogged determination and, for better or worse, his ability to be exceptionally quotable. As a public servant, he is so beloved in his home State of Kansas that he has never lost an election—a record 24 and 0. If only his K-State Wildcats could be so lucky.

(Laughter.)

Senator PAT ROBERTS, it has been an honor to be your partner and an even bigger honor to be your friend. So, while your retirement is well-deserved, you will be deeply missed on the Agriculture Committee and in the Senate. Thank you for all you have done for farmers and families and for the American people. I wish you only continued happiness and success as you and Franki and the family move to this next piece of your life.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, my seatmate here, PAT ROBERTS, is going to be missed not just by the whole Senate, not by the Nation, not by the people of Kansas, but by a lot of us he keeps going day-to-day and has for a long time.

I first met PAT ROBERTS in 1979. I had just been elected in 1978 to the U.S. House of Representatives. As has been said here today, he was the chief of staff of distinguished Congressman Keith Sebelius, who was well recognized and well respected on both sides of the aisle. PAT was his chief of staff. Our paths crossed later when he was elected to the Senate. We served on the Intelligence Committee together and on other committees.

He is unique. That wit of his, I think—the humor—is genetic. He has a daughter who is like that, which is wonderful, I think. I told PAT one time: That must be an inherited characteristic. He smiled. He understood. Yet PAT ROBERTS is a lot more than just a little humor to me; he is a serious person. He has had, as you know, a distinguished career as a Kansas State graduate, a Marine officer, a staffer, a Congressman, and one who has chaired both Ag Committees in the House and Senate, which has never been done—40 years of elected office between the House and the Senate.

We are going to miss you, PAT. I am going to miss you. I have sat here with you, and I have sat all over the Senate with you.

I will tell you, if you are feeling down about something or if you are feeling bleak that day, PAT will either straighten you out or make you think that this is not all bad, that America is coming together, and that it is always coming together.

So, PAT, you have your great family up here with you today. Franki has

been unique for you. She has been a great influence on you. We are going to miss you. I am going to miss that humor every day. Godspeed.

Mr. President, today, I would like to speak about my longtime colleague and friend, Senator PAT ROBERTS.

PAT and I have served together in Congress for 40 years. It comes as no surprise that he is the longest-serving member of the Kansas delegation.

Born in Topeka, PAT graduated from Kansas State University (K-State) and served as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps, achieving the rank of First Lieutenant.

He went on to work for Senator Frank Carlson and later Congressman Keith Sebelius, whom he succeeded in the House of Representatives in 1980.

PAT and I were colleagues in the House. It was there that we first became friends.

In 1996, PAT was elected to represent Kansas in the U.S. Senate and is currently finishing his fourth term.

PAT ROBERTS has had quite the career in public service. Over his four decades in Congress, he has served as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the Senate Ethics Committee, the Senate Intelligence Committee, and the Senate Agriculture Committee.

PAT ROBERTS is the first Member of Congress in history to have chaired both the House Agriculture Committee and the Senate Agriculture Committee.

He has also served as the ranking member on each of those committees.

In 2018, Senator ROBERTS became the first Member of Congress to write and pass farm bill in both Chambers.

Over the years, his dedication to the people of Kansas has been extraordinary and inspiring.

He arrived on Capitol Hill as a staffer in 1967—and is leaving Washington as the longest serving Member of Congress in his State's history.

It is also worth noting that he never lost a race. Not once.

PAT ROBERTS will undoubtedly be missed in the Senate by his peers on both sides of the aisle.

Senator ROBERTS is currently my deskmate on the Senate floor. I know I will miss his congeniality and humor during our conversations.

Annette and I have enjoyed spending time with PAT and Franki over the years. We wish them all the best.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I first met PAT ROBERTS when I was running for the U.S. House of Representatives for the very first time. I had a friend who worked for PAT, and he got me a meeting with him, which, at the time, was a pretty big deal because he was the chairman of the House Ag Committee, and I was in a Republican primary, where I was over 50 points behind. So the prospects weren't really bright that I was ever going to be somebody who would make it through

and end up serving there, but nobody could have been more encouraging or kind. I had a great meeting with him. We talked about agriculture. I am grateful that I have had the opportunity to get to know him pretty well here during my time in the Senate.

One of the reasons we have so much common ground is we both come from States where agriculture is incredibly important. It is the No. 1 industry in South Dakota. I have had the privilege of serving on the Ag Committee with PAT now for more than a decade. I call him "my chairman" since he has been my chairman on the Ag Committee for so long. He calls me "Coop"—a moniker he gave me very early in our acquaintance because he says I look like Gary Cooper. Now, I have to admit that the first time he called me that I had to look up some pictures to see if that were a compliment or not, but I know that he meant it that way. Whenever he introduced me at the Ag Committee, it was always, "Coop, it's high noon. You're up." "High Noon" was a famous movie in which Gary Cooper starred with Grace Kelly.

Of course, PAT is, I would say, somebody who is very accomplished in talking about movies from that era and stars from that era. He knows a little bit about everything and a lot about a few things. I call him "my chairman," as I said, because he has been there for an awfully long time, and he never minds the stories and nicknames. They are quintessentially PAT. It is just the way that he conducts himself.

Somebody talked about his sense of humor here this morning. I think Senator MORAN talked about PAT's being a funny guy in the Senate and of PAT's saying he was not a funny guy but a humorous guy. I would say he is a funny person. He is a comedian by nature, and he keeps all of us entertained with his repertoire of country music lyrics, his old movie quotes, and just a storytelling flair. You can be sure that, if you are going to be around PAT for very long, you are going to have a few belly laughs.

I always tell him—and I think it is true, and I think you have kind of heard it today—when he gets up on the floor and speaks or when he speaks at a committee hearing, that when you close your eyes, you kind of hear Paul Harvey. Senator MORAN said he sounded like Jack Benny once in a while, and maybe that is true, too. What I always knew when I was growing up was that Paul Harvey was a voice that was on the radio pretty much every day in our house, and I hear that same sort of Midwestern, resonant, and commonsensical voice whenever I hear PAT get up and talk.

But I will tell you that PAT may have a great sense of humor—he does keep us constantly smiling around here, which is something we don't do near often enough, particularly these days—but he is also very, very serious when it comes to getting things done for the people of Kansas, and they couldn't have a better advocate.

As I said, both PAT and I come from States whose lifeblood is agriculture, and PAT ROBERTS' heart has always beat with the farmers of this country. His advocacy for American agriculture resulted in his serving as chairman of both the House and the Senate Agriculture Committees during his career, and, as already been noted, he is the first Member of Congress in history—first in history—to have served as the chairman of both the House Agriculture and the Senate Agriculture Committee.

He is also the first Member of Congress to have written and passed a farm bill in both Chambers. I think he has worked, as was said earlier, on eight farm bills in all, which is an incredible number. And I am proud to have worked with him on three farm bills in the Senate, including the 2018 farm bill, which passed the Senate with the greatest number of votes of any farm bill in Senate history—a tribute to the hard work that PAT and his staff put into building consensus and reaching out to Members from all across this country who represent different areas, different commodities, different crops, and bringing them together to write a farm bill.

I have been around here long enough and been associated with enough farm bills to know that they tend to be kind of controversial because some people represent cities and maybe don't have agricultural constituencies. So the fact that PAT was successful in getting a farm bill across the finish line here in the Senate with a record 87 votes is a remarkable accomplishment in and of itself.

Of course, PAT's leadership, as has already been pointed out, hasn't been limited to agriculture. Among other things, he has served as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, where he led a sweeping review of the U.S. intelligence apparatus and advanced a number of reforms to shore up our intelligence and our national security. Then there is his work on biosciences, military issues, education, healthcare, and the list goes on and on and on.

PAT has proudly represented the people of Kansas in Congress for 40 years—16 in the House of Representatives and now 24 in the U.S. Senate—but, as has already been mentioned as well, his public service began long before that with his time as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps. Once a marine, always a marine. PAT has proudly represented the marines here in Congress. He is currently the most senior marine serving here on Capitol Hill.

The motto of the Marine Corps is "Semper Fidelis"—always faithful. PAT has lived out that motto over his long career of service to our country, and I hate to think of a Senate without PAT ROBERTS. He will be sorely missed, but he has more than earned his retirement and a chance to spend more time with his wife Franki and his children and grandchildren. I know how much

they have contributed to his success here. There aren't any of us who are here who don't have a supportive family, supportive spouse. We are truly grateful for the many contributions that Franki and the family have made to PAT's accomplishments here, his success in the Senate, and I know he is looking forward to spending more time with them in the future.

PAT, thank you for your leadership, for your friendship. May God bless you in your retirement. I will miss you.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I rise also to say farewell to a truly great Senator, Senator PAT ROBERTS.

He has been a friend and a mentor of mine in the U.S. Senate. He has been a leader, and there is no doubt—we are hearing it all—about all his accomplishments. He is certainly one of the great State of Kansas's most accomplished Senators ever.

But I would be remiss if I didn't mention that he is also a great Senator for another group of proud Americans, and that would be the U.S. Marine Corps. Senator ROBERTS has taken care of the U.S. Marines during his entire tenure here. If the marines needed something, they knew where to go—the great Senator from Kansas.

As you know, most Senators wear their Senate pin here, indicating that they are a Senator. We are proud to wear that. For the years I have known Senator ROBERTS—he is probably doing it again today—he wears his pin, but sometimes and usually he actually wears the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor, showing—and I think he has one on right now—where so much of his loyalty lies—with the U.S. Marine Corps. So I know that the marines are certainly going to miss Senator ROBERTS. I am certainly going to miss Senator ROBERTS.

You know, just like in his remarks today, he is a man of great wit, great stories, and I have had the honor to hear so many of these stories, and a lot of these stories, of course, for me, involve Alaska and the late great Senator Ted Stevens, who was also a very close friend of PAT's, in the seat which I am honored to hold here in the U.S. Senate. I have learned so much from these stories that I heard from Senator ROBERTS.

Most importantly, he has been a great example for me and so many other Senators. He is a statesman, a marine, an optimist. You heard it in his remarks today. We need more of that. He is a family man, a dedicated husband for over 50 years to a beautiful, wonderful wife; a leader in the Senate—six chairmanships—who gets things done for his State and for his country; and finally, a man of integrity—of integrity.

You know, it is tough duty to be the chairman of the Senate Ethics Committee, but the Senate Ethics Committee is much needed here, and to

chair that committee for 24 years is a testament of every single Senator here saying how much they believe in this man's integrity.

I was honored a couple of years ago when PAT asked me to serve on the Eisenhower Memorial Commission. It was a true honor for me, and I will say I saw again one of the great qualities of Senator ROBERTS' tenacity. On a rainy night a few months ago, I attended the dedication ceremony of President Eisenhower and watched as America celebrated a great American, a great Kansan, and there is one person who really made that a reality—Senator PAT ROBERTS.

So today we say farewell to another great Kansan and a great American, my good friend Senator PAT ROBERTS.

Thank you, sir, for the example, for the mentorship, for the friendship, and your great service to the Senate, to Kansas, to America, and to the U.S. Marine Corps. Semper Fi.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MORAN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

H.R. 6395

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I sound a little redundant here because we have been talking about this bill for a long time now, for several months. People don't realize how long it takes to get a defense authorization bill all the way through the system. There is no doubt in my mind that this is the most important bill of the year, every year, and the importance, I think, is pretty well demonstrated by the fact that we have successfully passed a defense authorization bill every year for 60 years. And I feel we will do the same thing. It could be today, it could be tomorrow, but nonetheless, it is a bill that has to pass.

Now, when President Trump came into office 4 years ago, we had a problem. He inherited a military that had serious problems. In fact, during the last 4 years of the previous administration—that would have been 2010 to 2015—the President depleted the budget or reduced the budget for military by 25 percent.

I don't say that really critically of President Obama because he had different priorities. He was up-front about it and didn't consider this to be high enough of a priority. Now, the sad thing about this is that at the same time that he was reducing our military spending by 25 percent, Russia was increasing theirs threefold and China's was increased by 83 percent. So we dropped ours by 25 percent, and at the same time, China increased theirs 83 percent. That is really serious.

People have this assumption that America has the best of everything and that we don't have any problem out there, but we do, and we found several systems where they were actually getting ahead of us. So, working with Congress, we passed the NDAA appropriations bill. We secured nearly \$3 trillion in funding for our Nation's defense. This year alone, the administration will provide more than \$740 billion for resources our military needs to keep our country and our troops safe.

The fiscal year 2021 National Defense Authorization Act cements President Trump's hard work to restore our military to be the best fighting force. That is what we are supposed to be doing in America. The NDAA authorizes critical investments to protect our military advantage across all domains, from the skies to the seas and even now through space, a whole new program.

With the President's leadership last year, the NDAA created the Space Force. It is the first time there has been a new branch since 1947, and that happened this year. This year's NDAA makes sure that it is set up successfully.

One of the things about the Space Force that I think people who are somewhat critical of—we were doing a good job in space before without the Space Force, but the fact that we can concentrate all those efforts in one force and be on equal footing—because that is exactly what our primary problem is out there with China and Russia. They both have what would be in their interpretation a space force, so it was important that we did, too, and that was the right thing to do.

This also authorizes the procurement of 93 F-35s, the Joint Strike Fighters, to continue the rebuilding of our over-worked combat aircraft. It also includes authorizations for C-130J aircraft, which will modernize our fleet, used for transportation of personnel and also for refuelers and things that we have to do in the military. That is an upgrade of the old version. The J model of the C-130 is a great vehicle. We have to have it authorized and all of the priorities set. That is what this bill does.

We also have authorized the procurement of nine new battle force ships, including the Virginia-class submarines. We talked about that for a long time, and now we are finally doing that.

Another area that we have been doing is our nuclear forces. Our President has been a champion for our nuclear modernization efforts—and for good reason. Our nuclear deterrent is the cornerstone of our national security. The NDAA ensures that our Nation wields a safe and reliable nuclear deterrent by authorizing the resources needed to modernize.

Now, we didn't do this for a long period of time. We fell behind. This bill is reversing that, and we are getting back into the competition—the nuclear competition. That is where the real threat is. Everybody knows that.

I think having the best weapons and equipment is critical, to be sure, but we also need the infrastructure and manpower to support it. Over the past several years, Congress has provided the military with significant funding increases and authorizations to begin and continue critical military construction projects overseas, as well as in our country.

These military construction projects can be found everywhere—from Arkansas to South Carolina, Oklahoma to California, and Missouri to Massachusetts, and all across the country. These investments will also build on our improvements to family housing.

I have heard people complain about what we do for the military in this country, and they try to say that we are spending more on our military than both China and Russia put together. Yeah, that is true, but there is a reason for that, and the reason for that is that the most expensive thing in building a military is individuals—what we are spending on individuals, on housing, and on all these things.

Now, when you are dealing with it, and looking at Communist countries, and you look at Russia and you look at China, they don't take care of their people. They don't have that expense, and that is why we spend more than they do. You know, just in the last 2 years, what we have done to improve housing for our troops—troops and their families—other people don't do that, but we do it. So that is why it is so significant that we do this.

I have a concern that I would like to share, and I hesitate to do this because it will take a little bit of time. People out there don't realize, in a bill like this, what all goes into it. I looked at the people who are heading this thing up, and, yesterday, Senator REED talked about the Democrats and the Republicans and their staff people, who worked so hard. Let me say this: We could not have done this without the cooperation and the love that we have for each other, with Senator REED. I mean, he heads up the minority, and I head up the majority, and we want, together, to make sure we have the best product in the world and that we get the best of everything for our troops in the field.

So I want to really single out Senator REED for all the work that he has done. He has been a great partner and friend throughout this process. And we want to thank our colleagues in the House also—Congressman SMITH and Congressman THORNBERRY. We all worked together.

You know, I have been involved in a lot of these things, and they always end up in the Big 4. That is where you have the leading Democrat and Republican in the House and Democrat and Republican in the Senate, insofar as defense is concerned, and we iron these things out. But in the meantime, this long bill is one that has taken just a lot of work. And I know that, yesterday, Senator REED got a chance to

mention the names of and show his appreciation for the Democrats that worked in the minority, and I want us to do the same thing for the Republicans in the majority.

John Bonsell—I don't think there is a person in Washington, DC, who knows more about the military than John Bonsell does. And he put together a group of people. These are all experts. They all work—you know, people don't understand this, but I am talking about weekends, Sundays, times that they have to work to get these things done and to get that bill into position, because you have to pass it through the Senate, and you have to go onto the Senate floor. Then you have to go to the House and the House committee and the House floor, and then you have to have a conference.

There are some things in this bill that we avoided having—and I am thankful that we did, quite frankly—that the House wanted and the Senate didn't want. We were able to iron out these differences and get them done. But to do that, we had to work long hours. I can assure you that the staff worked a lot longer hours than I did.

So I single these people out as really experts, and I want to show them appreciation, and I am just going to read them off to you here: John Bonsell. We know about John Bonsell. We know what he has done. He has been with me since he was, years ago, stationed at Fort Sill in my State of Oklahoma. He has been with me, and he has been heading up this group and putting the group together.

This group consists of: John Wason, Tom Goffus, Stephanie Barna, Greg Lilly, Marta Hernandez, Rick Berger, Jennie Wright, Adam Barker, Adam Trull, Al Edwards, Sean O'Keefe, Brad Patout, Jason Potter, Katie Sutton, Eric Trager, TC Williams, Otis Winkler, Gwyneth Woolwine, Katie Magnus, Leah Brewer, Debbie Chiarello, Gary Howard, Tyler Wilkinson, John Bryant, Griffin Cannon, Keri-Lyn Michalke, Soleil Sykes, Brittany Amador, and Jillian Schofield.

Now, these people, they are just names to a lot of other people, but each one has just really performed long and hard hours. There has been more staff work go into this bill than any other bill that is before us, than anytime year round.

So I just appreciate so much the hard work that has gone there, and we will pass this bill. It is one that if we don't pass it, we are not going to give the resources necessary for our kids in the field to have the safety that we can provide them and to have the equipment.

We want to get to the point where we have the very best of everything out there, and right now, we don't. China and Russia are knocking at our door. We have to do a better job than we have done in the past, and I am going to be working with the administration to do everything we can for the coming

year. But right now, we need to get caught up and go ahead and pass this.

This bill is the roadmap for the next year, and that is why this is important. So I encourage all of us to do what we have to do to get this bill done—hopefully, today, but definitely by tomorrow. I believe that will happen because people do care about our troops. There is no one more deserving in America than our troops who are out there in harm's way, and we are going to make sure that we do the right thing for them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. FISCHER). The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BARRASSO. Madam President, I come to floor today in complete support of Senator INHOFE, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and I come in support of the National Defense Authorization Act. I come to speak to that, and I am so grateful for the Senator from Oklahoma and for his ongoing, determined leadership in making sure that our Nation remains safe and secure and free. And it is because of the work done by Senator INHOFE and his committee and this body and this legislation that we will be voting on. I am so grateful for the leadership of the chairman, and I want to talk, specifically, about the reason I think it is important that we do pass the legislation that the committee has worked so hard on.

So the Presiding Officer knows, as a member of that committee, that this critical national security legislation lays out America's defense and national security priorities, as the Senator from Oklahoma just made up, for the years to come. It sets the policies to defend our Nation, and it supports America's service men and women here at home, as well as those abroad.

I was honored to spend Thanksgiving, again this year, with Wyoming National Guard troops, members of our Air National Guard, and they are serving at this time in Qatar, in the Al Udeid Air Force Base in the Persian Gulf. And when I think of the National Defense Authorization Act, this legislation before us today, I think of them. I think about the members there—Charlie Med, doing medical evacuations and medical transport.

First, I will tell you that, in terms of these Wyoming soldiers who are there, if you are in need of medical care or medical transport, you would be in very capable hands. You also know they have what they need to be able to do the job. I think of them, and I think of their families—the sacrifices that are being made by the families at home, because the families play a significant and important role in this as well.

You know, it is interesting, with so many deployed overseas right now, some of them have found that their deployments have been extended. Because of coronavirus, they are unable to do the transports of moving people back to the United States for the holi-

days and then back into the fields, so that they have many who felt that they would be home for the holidays who are going to find that they are not able to be home for the holidays. So I think it is very important that the Senate send a strong message that we have their backs, just as they have ours.

This is an incredibly bipartisan piece of legislation—one of the most bipartisan pieces of legislation every year when it comes to the floor of the Senate. It reflects equal input from Republicans and from Democrats. The Senate Armed Services Committee adopted 229 bipartisan amendments before it approved the NDAA this summer by a vote in the committee, on which the Presiding Officer also sits, of 25 to 2.

It is also in line with the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2019. It supports \$741 billion in defense funding for the 2021 fiscal year.

The NDAA is really a proud tradition of this institution and of our Nation. This is the 60th year in a row that the Senate has taken up the NDAA, and it has passed this body every year. We need to make sure this year is no exception. The world may be distracted by other things that are going on—certainly, the issue of a coronavirus pandemic—but, make no mistake, China and Russia still have global ambitions, and they pose grave threats to our Nation's security.

The Chinese military has actually stepped up its aggression against its neighbors, and we see it in the South China Sea. Russia is using energy as a weapon against its neighbors, and it continues cyber attacks against governments and institutions around the globe. This legislation will help keep China and Russia in check.

It maintains our high-tech edge, as the chairman of the Armed Services Committee has just said. It modernizes our nuclear weapons system with funding for the Ground Based Strategic Deterrent. It invests in new technologies—hypersonic weapons, biotechnologies, artificial intelligence, cyber security—all of which are designed to help keep us safe and free.

It implements the National Defense Strategy to promote a strong military deterrent and to strive for lasting peace, and it delivers a well-deserved pay raise for our troops, along with high-quality housing, healthcare, and childcare for military families at home, as well as abroad.

So I do want to thank Senator INHOFE and Ranking Member Senator REED of Rhode Island for their work in bringing this bill to the floor. Democrats have a history of opposing sometimes stronger defense funding, especially during the Obama-Biden years, but this makes longer term funding uncertain, and it becomes even more important to do what we need to do now to stand up against our adversaries.

No, we can't afford to slow our Nation's critical defense investments now. This NDAA will protect American

leadership and values all around the world, and it will give our Nation what we need to confront the aggressors that I mentioned, like China and Russia. This legislation is strategic, and this legislation is strong. It is smart, and it supports our troops, and it stands up to our enemies. The Senate needs to pass this, the 60th National Defense Authorization Act.

#### CORONAVIRUS

Madam President, I would now like to take a moment to discuss another topic, and that is coronavirus relief for American families.

Increasingly, we are seeing communities across the country asking for a clear path forward—a path forward to put the virus behind us and to help us grow our economy. The takeaway from last Friday's job report is we really have no time to waste. For the first time since we passed the CARES Act, the jobs report showed signs of a slowing recovery—recovery, yes, but not as rapid as planned.

The sectors hardest hit at the beginning of the pandemic are now hard hit again—retail and food services. The Republican-led CARES Act secured the swiftest, strongest economic recovery in our Nation's history. It added more than 12.3 million jobs in the last 7 months. It has been a great American comeback.

At the end of this month, provisions of the CARES Act are expiring—things like sick leave, unemployment benefits, and tax provisions. We need to extend those. For small businesses, I believe we need to reestablish and refurbish the popular Paycheck Protection Program. The money has gone. I talked to small businesses in Wyoming, talked to county commissioners last night, and talked to our Wyoming stock growers yesterday. We need to replenish the Paycheck Protection Program.

We need to reallocate unused funds for immediate needs now. Republican priorities are American priorities in terms of relief from coronavirus.

We want to make sure, certainly, to fund the distribution of the vaccine, which is ready to go. We need to provide relief for individuals and small businesses, and we need to get kids back into the classroom safely so they don't fall further behind.

The job we need to do is significant, it is serious, and relief is necessary. We need to get a bridge to the point where people have either received the vaccine or there is immunity in communities. Republicans are offering a path forward. We are doing it legislatively.

What we have heard from the Democrats are hard lines, all-or-nothing demands. We have heard them for the last 7 months. Democrats have offered no new proposals for COVID relief. They passed their \$3 trillion Fantasy Island bill in May and never lifted a pen after that.

In the last 6 months, Democrats have blocked relief that we have offered on the Senate floor four different times. Last week, Speaker PELOSI said—admitted—that she had held up all those

6 months of coronavirus relief for the American public for political gain, for politics. And we heard it from the minority assistant leader just yesterday, admitting the same, punishing the American people for politics. It is a sad commentary on where that party has been as the American people are asking for relief. Democrats don't have a plan. They played politics with the pandemic.

Again, our path forward is to do the things that we know need to be done: distribute the vaccine, provide Americans with relief, and get Americans' lives back on track. What we hear from Democrats are more lockdowns, more taxes during a pandemic, and more special projects for the far left. It is sad. The Democrats' policies don't meet the moment. We need to get relief to the public now. Democrats are ignoring where we really are in terms of the cost the Americans have borne and the progress that we have made in the recovery, and they have done it for political purposes.

Scientists and researchers are within several days of approval of the vaccine and a distribution nationwide. The country is soon going to have several highly effective vaccines distributed to every State.

In Wyoming, we are looking forward to 5,000 vaccines as early as Monday and 15,000 by the end of the month. I talked to the head of the intensive care unit at the Wyoming Medical Center just the other day—the hospital where I had been chief of staff, where there are increasing numbers of patients in the intensive care unit on respirators, where the staff is exhausted. They say: We need the vaccine for the staff, for the frontline workers, for the healthcare workers, for the elderly, and for the nursing home patients so they don't end up in the hospital and on ventilators.

These are the healthcare heroes of the day, the doctors and nurses taking care of these sick patients. We are going to administer vaccines to them, to the nursing home patients, and to those at high risk. Over the next 3 months, over 1 million people will be vaccinated.

Relief is necessary. In our State, we have lost 299 citizens to coronavirus—a number that I would have thought would not have occurred. This is with people trying to social distance, people trying to do the kinds of things in terms of wearing masks—a behavior that we know, with hygiene, would minimize the spread—but still the disease continues to spread.

The vaccine is the solution, but between now and the time the people can get vaccinated, help is needed, and it is up to this body to act. We still have work to do on behalf of the American people. I hope that the Democrats will join us in this effort this holiday season to get that relief to folks who need it. In the meantime, I say let's continue to do the things that we know work so we can stay safe and our businesses and our country can stay open.

With that, I thank you.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SANDERS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SANDERS. Madam President, this country faces an unprecedented crisis in terms of the pandemic and the economic meltdown. I understand that negotiations are currently going on in terms of coming up with an economic package dealing with COVID-19 relief, and I applaud the very hard work that each of the negotiators are doing, Democrats and Republicans. But the truth is that the results up to this point for those negotiations are totally unsatisfactory given the economic desperation facing tens of millions of working families all across this country.

As I think everyone will remember, back in March of this year, at the beginning of the pandemic, the U.S. Congress acted unanimously—unanimously, Democrats and Republicans—and worked with President Trump to come up with an economic package that went a long way toward preventing absolute misery and destitution for many of our people.

Through no fault of their own, COVID-19 resulted in millions of our people losing their jobs and their income. That is what the pandemic did. Nobody is to blame. That is what happened. And in response, in March, Democrats and Republicans in this Congress came together, worked with the President of the United States, and in a very significant way responded to that crisis. That is what we did in March.

What I don't understand is that at a time when, in many ways, the economic and public health crisis is worse today than it was in March, why we are not responding accordingly?

In March, as you know, we passed the \$2.2 trillion CARES Act, which included a \$600 supplement to unemployed workers, and, my God, what relief that was to millions of workers who had lost their jobs. In addition, we provided a \$1,200 direct payment to every working-class adult in this country, plus \$500 for their kids.

Once again—and let me repeat this—we did this unanimously, and we did it working with President Trump despite many of the enormous disagreements that a lot of us have with President Trump on so many issues.

Now, what I don't understand is, if we could work together in March, if we could have succeeded 9 months ago, why can we not do exactly the same thing right now? That is why I will insist that any agreement in terms of a COVID-19 relief package must include not only strong unemployment benefits

but a \$1,200 direct payment for the working families of this country, similarly structured to what was included in the CARES package of March.

I will be introducing an amendment to the 1-week continuing resolution to make sure that occurs, that every working-class adult in this country receives another \$1,200 direct payment, plus \$500 for their kids. If we could do it in March and it was the right thing then, now, at a time when the situation in many ways is even worse, we can and must do it today.

Every Member of this body, I know, wants to get out of Washington to get home to their families for the holiday season, and put me at the very top of that list. But at a time when so many American families are suffering, when so many people don't know how they are going to feed their kids or prevent being evicted from their homes or how they are going to pay for a doctor's visit, we cannot leave Washington and return to our families unless we address the economic suffering that so many other families are facing.

When a national emergency occurs, the U.S. Government must respond. And we are in a national emergency today. To get out of Washington, to turn our backs on the suffering of so many men, women, and children in Vermont and in every other State in this country, would be immoral, it would be unconscionable, and we cannot allow that to happen.

Again, we must make certain that every working family in this country receives a \$1,200 direct payment, plus \$500 for their kids. That is the least we can do.

Let me be as clear as I can be. Today, as a result of the horrific pandemic and economic meltdown, the American working class is hurting in a way that has not been experienced since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

In terms of public health, yesterday alone, over 220,000 Americans were diagnosed with COVID-19—yesterday—and tragically, over 3,000 died from this horrific virus. We are experiencing now some of the worst days in terms of cases being diagnosed, in terms of hospitalization, in terms of death. That is where we are today. In other words, more Americans were killed by the coronavirus yesterday than were killed on 9/11.

Tens of millions of our fellow citizens have lost their jobs as a result of the pandemic. They have lost their incomes. They have lost their health insurance. They have depleted their life savings.

Let me tell you this: We deferred evictions. We prevented people from being evicted from their homes. But when at some point that deferment ends, all across the country, people are going to owe thousands and thousands of dollars to their landlords. They don't have the money to pay them. Tens of millions of people are in danger of being evicted.

You may have noticed that there were reports out there that hunger—

this is the United States of America, the wealthiest country in the history of the world. We are looking at numbers that suggest that hunger is at the highest level we have seen in decades. Children in America are going hungry, and all across this country, tenants are worried that they are going to get a knock on the door from the sheriff evicting them from their homes or their apartments and throwing their belongings out on the street to join the other 500,000 Americans who are now homeless.

In America today, over half of our workers are living paycheck-to-paycheck, while one out of every four workers in this country is either unemployed or earning an annual income of less than \$20,000 a year. I don't know how anybody makes it on less than \$20,000 a year.

During the holiday season to come, over one-third of Americans expect to lose income and are already having a difficult time paying for their basic household expenses.

I would be remiss if I didn't mention that, at a time when so many people in our economy are suffering, it has been far worse for the African-American and Latino communities. During this pandemic, nearly 60 percent of Latino families and 55 percent of African-American families have either experienced a job loss or a pay cut. That is just an unimaginable number. So the general population is suffering—even worse for the African-American and Latino communities.

I should also add that, in the midst of this pandemic, not everybody is suffering. The people on top, some of the billionaires on top, are doing phenomenally well. Over the past 9 months of this pandemic, 650 billionaires—650, not a whole lot of people—have seen their wealth go up by over \$1 trillion, during this pandemic, and now own over twice as much wealth as the bottom 50 percent of American people.

This is the United States of America, the richest country in the history of the world. No person in this great country should be going hungry. No person should live in fear of going homeless. No person in America should lack the healthcare they need when they or their kids get sick, especially in the midst of the worst public health crisis in 100 years.

Can you imagine? I mean, it really is unimaginable that we are looking at 220,000 people yesterday having been diagnosed with COVID-19, with the virus, and there are 90 million people in America who are either uninsured or underinsured, and they can't even afford to go to a doctor. But that is exactly what is going on in America today.

This is an unprecedented moment in American history, and the Senate needs to take unprecedented action to protect the working families of this country who are facing extreme economic desperation. If we could act effectively in March through the CARES

Act, we can act effectively today as we enter this holiday season.

Once again, I very much appreciate the hard work that has gone into the current \$908 billion proposal being worked on by a number of Democratic and Republican Senators, but, simply stated, given the horrific extent of the current crisis and the desperation of so many of our people, this proposal does not go anywhere—anywhere—far enough.

In truth, rather than the \$3.4 trillion which we on the Democratic side called for in the Heroes Act and passed in the House—the U.S. House of Representatives a number of months ago passed a \$3.4 trillion bill, but what is being discussed and negotiated right now with Democratic and Republican Senators only allocates \$348 billion in new money. The remaining \$560 billion are funds transferred from the CARES Act that have not yet been obligated.

So what we are talking about now, as opposed to \$3.4 trillion passed in the Heroes Act, is, roughly speaking, \$348 billion in new money right now. We are talking about, roughly speaking, 10 percent of new money compared to what was passed in the House. That is absurd. That is unacceptable. I am prepared to negotiate, but I cannot negotiate in good faith when we are receiving 10 percent of new money compared to what was passed in the House in the Heroes bill.

Unlike the CARES Act, which we passed unanimously in March, the proposal now being negotiated only provides a \$300 supplement for unemployed workers rather than \$600 a week. Further, unlike the \$1,200 direct payment for every working-class individual and \$500 for each child, this agreement being negotiated provides absolutely nothing—zero. Moreover, this proposal does nothing to address the healthcare crisis impacting tens of millions of Americans who cannot afford medical care and has totally inadequate financial assistance for the most vulnerable.

The American people need help, and they need help now. In fact, there has never been a time in the modern history of this country when the American people were in more economic desperation and a time when people needed help. If a government means anything, it means that we cannot turn our backs on tens of millions of families who today are suffering. So we have to make sure that every working individual in America receives at least \$1,200 in direct payment. That is what we have to do. We cannot continue the status quo of simply coming in here to work and then going home and going back for our holiday.

So I am going to do everything I can to insist that we make sure that every working person in this country gets a \$1,200 direct payment, and we are not going to go home until that happens.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

H.R. 6395

Mr. PAUL. Madam President, the best part of any debate is when you see

people twisting themselves in knots, going against their own alleged principles to get their desired result. Today, the subject is war powers. The hawks and the neocons somehow want you to believe, in contrast to all logic, that the President of the United States has the unitary power to go to war anytime he wants, anywhere, free from interference from Congress. That is their stated position anytime war comes up. Yet, today, in the NDAA, they say they now want a President that cannot leave a war without their permission.

How absurd is that? They believe that a President has the power to go to war anywhere, anytime, but when a President tries to remove troops they say: Oh, no, no. What we really want are 535 generals in Congress to tell him he can't leave a war. How absurd is that?

It is exactly the opposite of what both the Constitution and logic would dictate. When Congress tried to impose time limits on troop engagements during the Iraq war, the neocons squawked that it would be a mistake to have 535 generals. They said the execution of the war was a prerogative of the President—until a President decided he wanted to leave a war.

During the Bush administration, Dick Cheney and a team of legal apologists argued for something they call the unitary executive theory. Professor Edelson at American University describes this theory of an all-powerful Commander-in-Chief concept: This unitary executive theory claimed to justify, effectively, unchecked Presidential power over the use of military force, the detention and interrogation of prisoners, extraordinary rendition, and intelligence gathering.

According to the unitary executive theory, since the Constitution assigns the President all of the executive power, he can set aside laws that attempt to limit this power over national security. This is an enormous power. Critics say that it effectively puts the President above the law. But this is the belief of the neocons. They say: "The President is all-powerful," until they say, "Well, unless the President is trying to stop a war, then we must shackle the President with rules and regulations and make sure that he cannot leave a war unless Congress says so." That is what the NDAA will do this year.

These same people who advocated for virtually unlimited Commander-in-Chief powers have put forth limits in this bill to restrain a President from removing troops from a country. Effectively, these neocons put forth a belief that the Commander in Chief has virtually unlimited power to initiate war, but they are just fine with hamstringing and preventing the Commander in Chief from ending a war.

Hypocrisy, anyone? Without a shred of embarrassment, these neocons happily constrain a President from leaving a war theater while they also simultaneously argue for a President who can



start war anytime, anywhere across the globe without congressional authorization. Our Founding Fathers would be appalled.

Primary among our Founders' concerns was that the power to initiate war not be in the hands of one person. As Madison wrote in the *Federalist Papers*, the executive is the branch of government most prone to war. Therefore, the Constitution, with studied care, vested the war-making powers in the legislature.

To our Founders, initiation of war was the sole prerogative of Congress. But a great deal of discretion was given to the President in article II to execute the war. The neocons forever believed in this discretion. They said the war shouldn't be fought by 535 generals in Congress; we should give the President the freedom and power to execute the war. And, largely, they are correct—until they pop their heads up today and say, unless the President wants to stop a war, then we take it all back. What we really want is a President who can't execute a war or execute the end of a war without the permission of Congress.

Likely, our Founders would have agreed with the common complaint that we don't need 535 generals in Congress. In other words, success in war requires most decisions on executing the war to be in the hands of one person—the President. Even I, who have been opposed to most of the recent overseas activities and wars—even I believe that once Congress initiates it, most of the decisions should be made by the President.

The decision to go to war requires the consensus, the initiation—the beginning of war requires the consensus of 535 Members of Congress under the Constitution. It is very clear. They debated it over and over, and they said: Initiation, declaration of war, should be done by Congress. But the execution of the war would largely be left up to the President. Many, many current and former Members of Congress have agreed.

Representative LIZ CHENEY has argued that the nature of military and foreign policy demands the unity of the singular executive and that the Founders certainly did not intend, nor does history substantiate, the idea that Congress should legislate specific limits on the President's powers in wartime.

LIZ CHENEY, who is also, ironically, the author of this amendment to the NDAA, said we shouldn't limit the President's powers in times of war and then she authors a limitation on the President removing troops from war. So which is it? I guess she is only for this unitary power—she is only for this all-powerful Commander in Chief when they fight war. But if a President wants to end a war, oh, no, Congress has to stop them at all costs from ending a war.

I think what comes out of this is that the neoconservative philosophy isn't so

much about a unitary executive, isn't so much about an all-powerful Commander in Chief, the philosophy of these people is about war and substantiating war and making sure that it becomes and is perpetual war.

Senator GRAHAM said the one thing he has been consistent on is that “there is 1 Commander in Chief, not 535” these are his words “and I believe this Commander in Chief and all future Commanders in Chief are unique in our Constitution and have an indispensable role to play when it comes to protecting the homeland. If we have 535 commanders in chief, then we are going to be less safe.”

I guess, except for this bill, which actually creates 535 generals in Congress to tell the President, not just this President—and some of it is anger. It is partisan anger. People don't like President Trump—but this will bind all future Presidents. This isn't just about this President.

When LINDSEY GRAHAM says we don't want 535 Commanders in Chief, if this is his belief, he should vote against this bill because this bill creates 535 Commanders in Chief.

The late Senator McCain said: “It would be a very serious situation where we now have 535 commanders in chief . . . the President of the United States is the only commander.”

Senator INHOFE, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, has said: “We don't need the 535 generals in Congress telling our troops how to win this fight,” except for we are going to pass a bill that I assume all of these folks will vote for that actually creates 535 generals in Congress to say to the President—to this one or any President—that he can't leave the theater in Afghanistan without their permission. It is a tragedy; it is hypocrisy; and it is a terrible bill.

Of course, there is also former Vice President Dick Cheney, who was adamant that the War Powers Resolution, which requires the President to simply report to Congress on matters of war, was unconstitutional as “an infringement of the president's authority as the commander in chief.”

Senator ALEXANDER also said “there is a reason why we don't have 535 commanders in chief or 100 commanding generals each saying charge down this street or over that hill.”

I tend to agree, except for it seems to be one-sided. These people seem to believe that we shouldn't have 535 generals in Congress when it is about initiating war. But when it comes to removing troops from the battle, when it comes to finally coming home after America's longest war in Afghanistan, they all say: Oh, no, no, no. You are wrong. We are not going to let you come home. We are going to restrict and restrain the powers of the Commander in Chief because we don't want to end the Afghan war.

It seems as if the only thing you can conclude is they really don't care about their theory of an all-powerful

Commander in Chief; they care more about perpetuating the Afghan war.

Until recently, this chorus of voices sang of nothing but the almighty, endless powers that Presidents have as Commander in Chief. That is, until a President arrived on the scene who wanted to reduce overseas troop levels and end America's longest war in Afghanistan. Then the promoters of a strong Commander in Chief suddenly jumped ship and began advocating the opposite. They began advocating that 535 Members of Congress should, indeed, become generals and should limit the President's ability to remove troops from Afghanistan.

Which is it? Are you for this unlimited power of the President to commence and execute war or are you only for it when they are initiating war, when they are continuing war, and against Presidential prerogative if the President chooses to end a war?

Shouldn't we call out this hypocrisy? Shouldn't someone stand up and express and expose this rank demagoguery? Shouldn't someone cry foul that the advocates of unlimited Presidential power want it only to apply when that President advocates for war? But the moment a President advocates to end a war or lessen overseas troops and these deployments, he or she must be shackled by 535 generals.

This Defense authorization bill could more aptly be called “A Bill to Prevent the President from Ending the Afghan War.” We never actually give the real titles to the bill, but that would be an accurate title: “A Bill to Prevent the President from Ending the Afghan War.”

As such, any serious advocate for ending the Afghan war should vote against this monstrosity. The neocon advocates for Presidential war powers should own up to their hypocrisy and admit that their love of perpetual war trumps their oft-stated unitary executive theory.

In reality, the neocons are enamored of their theory of unbounded Presidential power only when that power is used to foment war. The minute a President decides to end war, the neocons' true stripes are exposed as they beat their chest and proclaim—as 535 generals might—that the President will not be allowed to remove troops without congressional permission.

This bill sets a very dangerous precedent for limiting a President's power to end war and should be vigorously opposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG). The Senator from Missouri.

#### DUCK BOAT SAFETY ENHANCEMENT ACT OF 2019

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, July 19, 2018, is a date that we in Missouri won't ever forget. There were 17 people who lost their lives and 11 who were injured in a boating accident on Table Rock Lake. During a severe thunderstorm, a duck boat called Stretch Duck

7 sank with 31 people aboard, including children. Today marks 875 days since that tragedy.

To the families and friends who lost loved ones that day, I am sure that every one of those 875 days since has come with a new and painful reminder of your loss.

I am here today to honor those who lost their lives, the 17 victims of that tragedy—a tragedy that should never have happened—and also to honor the survivors who live with the memory of that tragedy every day. They deserve to be remembered. They deserve to be respected by this body, and I am here to do something about it. The time has come to act.

I am here to ask this body to do its job and finally pass my bill that will impose tough, new security restrictions and measures on every duck boat operation in America. This is a bill I introduced almost 2 years ago that passed the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation unanimously.

Now, truth be told, it has taken this body far too long to act. The tragedy in Missouri may have been one of the more recent duck boat tragedies, but it is far from the first. In 1999, 13 people were killed when a duck boat sank during a tour of Lake Hamilton in Arkansas. In the years since, the death toll has climbed to over 40. In 2001, there was a duck boat accident in Seattle, WA. In 2010, a tugboat on the Delaware River in Philadelphia collided with a duck boat. In 2013, a duck boat caught fire in the San Francisco Bay. I could go on.

Now, the National Transportation Safety Board has issued numerous recommendations to improve duck boat safety, and it has issued many of these recommendations multiple times. The U.S. Coast Guard, which regulates these crafts, has recently concurred with quite a number of these recommendations. Yet, to be frank, we need more than recommendations. We need more than studies and surveys. We need laws. It has been 875 days, and we have seen investigation after investigation conclude the same thing: that lives could have been saved if action had been taken—if this body had acted, if the security measures had been put in place.

The time for delay has passed, and the time to act is now in order to save future lives and to make sure that the tragedy that happened in Branson is not repeated again in Missouri or in any other State.

My legislation would take those recommendations and put them into law. It includes provisions to ensure that duck boats remain buoyant during flooding. It requires dangerous canopies to be removed. It requires life jackets for passengers. My legislation would also ensure that duck boats would not go out during severe weather and also require the operators of duck boats to know what the weather is—a commonsense provision but one not currently required under the law.

I thank Senator BLUNT, Senator COTTON, and Senator DUCKWORTH for supporting this legislation and for their strong support for lifesaving provisions. I thank Chairman WICKER for moving this bill through the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, where, once again, it received unanimous support. Now it is time to make it the law of the land.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation be discharged from further consideration of S. 1031 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1031) to implement recommendations related to the safety of amphibious passenger vessels, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. HAWLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the Hawley substitute amendment be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2698) in the nature of a substitute was agreed to, as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Duck Boat Safety Enhancement Act of 2020”.

#### SEC. 2. SAFETY REQUIREMENTS FOR AMPHIBIOUS PASSENGER VESSELS.

##### (a) SAFETY IMPROVEMENTS.—

(1) BUOYANCY REQUIREMENTS.—Not later than 1 year after the date of completion of a Coast Guard contracted assessment by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine of the technical feasibility, practicality, and safety benefits of providing reserve buoyancy through passive means on amphibious passenger vessels, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating may initiate a rulemaking to prescribe in regulations that operators of amphibious passenger vessels provide reserve buoyancy for such vessels through passive means, including watertight compartmentalization, built-in flotation, or such other means as the Secretary may specify in the regulations, in order to ensure that such vessels remain afloat and upright in the event of flooding, including when carrying a full complement of passengers and crew.

(2) INTERIM REQUIREMENTS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating shall initiate a rulemaking to implement interim safety policies or other measures to require that operators of amphibious passenger vessels operating in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) comply with the following:

(A) Remove the canopies of such vessels for waterborne operations, or install in such vessels a canopy that does not restrict either

horizontal or vertical escape by passengers in the event of flooding or sinking.

(B) If the canopy is removed from such vessel pursuant to subparagraph (A), require that all passengers don a Coast Guard type-approved personal flotation device before the onset of waterborne operations of such vessel.

(C) Install in such vessels at least one independently powered electric bilge pump that is capable of dewatering such vessels at the volume of the largest remaining penetration in order to supplement the vessel’s existing bilge pump required under section 182.520 of title 46, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(D) Verify the watertight integrity of such vessel in the water at the outset of each waterborne departure of such vessel.

(b) REGULATIONS REQUIRED.—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating shall initiate a rulemaking for amphibious passenger vessels operating in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation). The regulations shall include, at a minimum, the following:

(1) SEVERE WEATHER EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS.—Requirements that an operator of an amphibious passenger vessel—

(A) check and notate in the vessel’s logbook the National Weather Service forecast before getting underway and periodically while underway;

(B) in the case of a watch or warning issued for wind speeds exceeding the wind speed equivalent used to certify the stability of an amphibious passenger vessel, proceed to the nearest harbor or safe refuge; and

(C) maintain and monitor a weather monitor radio receiver at the operator station that may be automatically activated by the warning alarm device of the National Weather Service.

(2) PASSENGER SAFETY.—Requirements—

(A) concerning whether personal flotation devices should be required for the duration of an amphibious passenger vessel’s waterborne transit, which shall be considered and determined by the Secretary;

(B) that operators of amphibious passenger vessels inform passengers that seat belts may not be worn during waterborne operations;

(C) that before the commencement of waterborne operations, a crew member visually check that each passenger has unbuckled the passenger’s seatbelt; and

(D) that operators or crew maintain a log recording the actions described in subparagraphs (B) and (C).

(3) TRAINING.—Requirement for annual training for operators and crew of amphibious passenger vessels, including—

(A) training for personal flotation and seat belt requirements, verifying the integrity of the vessel at the onset of each waterborne departure, identification of weather hazards, and use of National Weather Service resources prior to operation; and

(B) training for crewmembers to respond to emergency situations, including flooding, engine compartment fires, man overboard situations, and in water emergency egress procedures.

(4) RECOMMENDATIONS FROM REPORTS.—Requirements to address recommendations from the following reports, as practicable and to the extent that such recommendations are under the jurisdiction of the Coast Guard:

(A) The National Transportation Safety Board’s Safety Recommendation Reports on the Amphibious Passenger Vessel incidents

in Table Rock, Missouri, Hot Springs, Arkansas, and Seattle, Washington.

(B) The Coast Guard's Marine Investigation Board reports on the Stretch Duck 7 sinkings at Table Rock, Missouri, and the Miss Majestic sinking near Hot Springs, Arkansas.

(5) INTERIM REQUIREMENTS.—The interim requirements described in subsection (a)(2), as appropriate.

(C) PROHIBITION ON OPERATION OF NON-COMPLIANT VESSELS.—Commencing as of the date specified by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating pursuant to subsection (d), any amphibious passenger vessel whose configuration or operation does not comply with the requirements under subsection (a)(2) (or subsection (a)(1), if prescribed) may not operate in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(d) DEADLINE FOR COMPLIANCE.—The regulations and interim requirements described in subsections (a) and (b) shall require compliance with the requirements in the regulations not later than 2 years after the date of the enactment of this Act, as the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating may specify in the regulations.

(e) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the promulgation of the regulations required under subsection (a), the Commandant of the Coast Guard shall provide a report to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure of the House of Representatives regarding the status of the implementation of the requirements included in such regulations.

The bill (S. 1031), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

MR. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2021—Conference Report—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

##### CORONAVIRUS

MR. CORNYN. Mr. President, as we all know, the clock is ticking down on coronavirus relief. Both the Senate and the House are set to wrap up the work of the 116th Congress in just a few days, but we don't appear to be much closer to a deal now than we were this summer.

Over the last few months, my colleagues and I on this side of the aisle have attempted to reach an agreement that could gain bipartisan support. We have proposed a number of targeted packages which have included funding for the most urgent bipartisan priorities, things like vaccine development, schools, and the Paycheck Protection Program. We have tried to pass individual proposals that have had near unanimous support, like a 1-week extension of unemployment insurance benefits.

At every turn in the runup to the election, our Democratic colleagues have simply stood in the way. It is not just Republicans' ideas they have rejected. The administration has repeat-

edly tried to negotiate with the Speaker, with the latest attempt being earlier this week. Oddly enough, our Democratic colleagues have blasted the offer as being an attempt to obstruct negotiations. This is a parallel universe, where up is down and down is up, apparently, for our Democratic colleagues.

Only in the Democrats' alternate reality is more compromise an example of obstruction. Based on everything we have seen so far, it appears they have no real interest in reaching a deal. And I conclude that only because they have stood in the way of every attempt so far to come to an agreement and seem perfectly content to maintain the status quo, which nobody claims to like, even as the American people continue to call for additional support.

Almost every Member of Congress has said they want to pass another relief bill before the end of the year, but as we stand here today, we are empty-handed despite the fact that we agree on a majority of what should be in that package. Republicans and Democrats agree that funding for schools, vaccines, the Paycheck Protection Program, and assistance for the hardest hit Americans is desperately needed. But there appear to be two hangups in the negotiations: liability protections and State and local aid.

I think it is safe to say, in all fairness to our Democratic friends, they just don't support liability protections, whether it is for healthcare workers, hospitals, schools, churches, or nonprofits that can be hit with a wave of litigation unless we act. And we know on this side of the aisle Republicans don't support hundreds of billions of dollars of new money to bail out cities and States that have been mismanaged for decades.

With neither side willing to budge, Leader MCCONNELL made the only reasonable suggestion I have heard in light of the stalemate. He said that setting these two issues aside seems to make sense so we can do what we can do and include all the things we agree on in the coming days while we hold off those more controversial pieces until the start of the next year.

Our friends across the aisle apparently have never heard of the 80-20 rule, and that makes sense, I guess, in this alternate reality where NANCY PELOSI said that "nothing is better than something." I have never heard anyone say that before. It is rather shocking to me.

Based on their reception of the long list of proposals so far this year, I am sure it will come as no surprise that they have basically rejected any entitlements that we have made. It is clear to me that they aren't approaching these negotiations by asking what is best for the 330 million people in this country; their concern appears to be what is best for them politically—certainly in the runup to the election, where they denied the American people the benefits of another COVID-19 relief

bill—or when it comes to liability protection, the trial lawyers.

Now, I am a recovering lawyer myself. I don't hold a grudge against lawyers earning a living. But the fact is, we ought to be concerned about the American people and not lawyers, who, I dare say, are probably doing pretty well relative to those who aren't getting a paycheck or are in lockdowns at home.

So our Democratic colleagues have employed the same all-or-nothing approach that has been their hallmark, and, as the American people have learned over and over again, it almost always leads to nothing. I mean, so much of this is so obvious, it seems to me, you almost are embarrassed to say it, but when your attitude is "all or nothing," you usually end up with nothing. And that is where we are today—no unemployment benefit extension, no funding for schools, no money for vaccine distribution, no second draw on the Paycheck Protection Program. Nothing. Zip. Nada.

Our Democratic colleagues have proven over and over again that either they don't want to negotiate or they have forgotten how. They aren't interested in compromise, which is the only way you get things done here. It sounds like they are more interested in messaging than they are in actually achieving a result—making a law, something the President will sign after it passes both Houses.

So our colleagues need to make a decision, and they need to make it quickly. Are they willing to work with us and send a bill to the President that includes most of what they would like to see in a relief bill, if not all, or are they willing to tank everything—funding for State and local government, vaccines, schools, small businesses, families who are hurting and anxious and in financial distress? Are they willing to throw them under the bus if they can't get everything they want? Again, the choice seems so obvious to me. I am sorry I have to say it, but it has become obvious that, so far, Democratic leadership has no interest in resolving these negotiations in a way that gets them most of what they want without taking the risk that we end up empty-handed.

##### TRIBUTE TO PAT ROBERTS

MR. President, this morning, during the remarks by the senior Senator from Kansas, I was stuck in the Judiciary Committee, and so I wasn't able to be here, although I have read and heard reported back to me some of the best moments of his remarks, and I just wanted to come here to the floor and say a few words about our friend PAT ROBERTS as we prepare to bid him farewell.

PAT has represented the people of Kansas for four decades—16 years in the House and 24 years here in the Senate—and I bet it seems like a blink of an eye. During that time, he has established himself as a national leader—in agriculture in particular—a dependable

voice for rural Americans, and an unwavering advocate for our Nation's servicemembers, as you would expect a former marine to be. But he has also been a source of great comedic relief in a place where people often take themselves too seriously.

A few years ago, during a Senate Finance Committee hearing, we heard PAT's cell phone ringing. Much to everyone's enjoyment, it wasn't a factory-set ring tone; it was the song "Let It Go" from the Disney movie "Frozen." When he was asked if he had seen the stage adaptation, he equipped: "I might even be in it."

Well, his acting chops are clearly not adequate for Broadway, but there is certainly enough to impress those of us here in this Chamber. He has a great Marlon Brando impression and a knack for injecting quotes from the movie "On the Waterfront" at the perfect moment. And we all know that he is a great country music fan, particularly of Ray Price.

PAT is happy to entertain just about anyone who will listen to his talent for storytelling, and I know members of my staff have enjoyed learning about his time in the Marine Corps—at least those PG-rated moments.

It is fitting that Washington Magazine has given him the title of "Funniest Senator," a number of times even referring to him as the "Senate's Jay Leno." You never know what PAT is going to say, but it is invariably entertaining and always amusing.

As much as we are going to miss his frequent jokes and clever one-liners, we are going to miss his steadfast leadership and friendship even more—as I said earlier, especially when it comes to his advocacy on behalf of farmers and ranchers and folks who put the food on our tables and the clothes on our backs.

PAT has had his hand and his fingerprints on every Agriculture bill for the last four decades. Those farm bills are tough—trying to marry up the interests of urban folks and food stamps and things like that along with the needs of our production agriculture, our farmers and ranchers. He was the first person to chair the Agriculture Committee in both the House and the Senate, as well as the first to write and pass a farm bill in both Chambers. He has been an unrelenting champion for our Nation's farmers and ranchers and producers, and Texas agriculture has benefited, too, from his work to remove trade barriers and burdensome regulations that have threatened their competitiveness or, in some cases, their survival.

While PAT's accomplishments as chairman of the Agriculture Committee are among his most celebrated, his remarkable career in public service has led to a long list of wins for the American people. He has led efforts to help improve access to quality healthcare for all Americans. He has helped keep taxes low and improve economic opportunities for families all

across the country. And, of course, he has advocated for our servicemembers and our veterans. PAT even chaired the Senate Intelligence Committee for a time, and he helped to identify systemic problems in the intelligence community and enact critical reforms.

Finally, in a great labor of love, which seems like, I am sure, it has taken decades to accomplish, a few months ago, PAT was able to see his decades-long fight come to a satisfying conclusion when the Dwight David Eisenhower Memorial was completed. This incredible monument to our 34th President would not have been possible without PAT ROBERTS. He has worked on it for the last 20 years, most of it behind the scenes, and it seems like the perfect culmination of his service in Congress.

While PAT's sense of humor and devotion to public service are often on public display, members of our Senate community have also come to know of the size of his heart. He has got a big one. When a former member of PAT's staff unexpectedly passed away this last year, he was there to comfort the family and friends and share wonderful stories about Chris in a speech at his memorial service, because when you work for PAT ROBERTS—or I should say with PAT ROBERTS—you are not just a cog in a policymaking or legislative machine; you are family.

You would be hard-pressed to find a better friend to Kansans, a more devoted ally for our farmers and ranchers, a bigger K-State fan, or a more loved Member of the Senate than our friend PAT ROBERTS. There is no question we will miss him and the countless laughs he has provided over the years, but I know he is eager to spend more time in greener pastures with his wonderful wife Franki. PAT has earned a well-deserved retirement, and I know he is looking forward to spending more time with his and Franki's children and growing number of grandchildren.

PAT, we wish you well.

#### PURPLE BOOK CONTINUITY ACT OF 2019.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 1520 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report the bill by title. The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1520) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the publication of a list of licensed biological products, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Alexander substitute amendment at the desk be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be

considered read a third time and passed; and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2699) was agreed, to as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

The Act may be cited as the "Purple Book Continuity Act of 2020".

#### SEC. 2. BIOLOGICAL PRODUCT PATENT TRANSPARENCY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(9) PUBLIC LISTING.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—

"(i) INITIAL PUBLICATION.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of the Purple Book Continuity Act of 2020, the Secretary shall publish and make available to the public in a searchable, electronic format—

"(I) a list of each biological product, by nonproprietary name (proper name), for which, as of such date of enactment, a biologics license under subsection (a) or this subsection is in effect, or that, as of such date of enactment, is deemed to be licensed under this section pursuant to section 7002(e)(4) of the Biologics Price Competition and Innovation Act of 2009;

"(II) the date of licensure of the marketing application and the application number; and

"(III) with respect to each biological product described in subclause (I), the licensure status, and, as available, the marketing status.

"(ii) REVISIONS.—Every 30 days after the publication of the first list under clause (i), the Secretary shall revise the list to include each biological product which has been licensed under subsection (a) or this subsection during the 30-day period or deemed licensed under this section pursuant to section 7002(e)(4) of the Biologics Price Competition and Innovation Act of 2009.

"(iii) PATENT INFORMATION.—Not later than 30 days after a list of patents under subsection (1)(3)(A), or a supplement to such list under subsection (1)(7), has been provided by the reference product sponsor to the subsection (k) applicant respecting a biological product included on the list published under this subparagraph, the reference product sponsor shall provide such list of patents (or supplement thereto) and their corresponding expiry dates to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall, in revisions made under clause (ii), include such information for such biological product. Within 30 days of providing any subsequent or supplemental list of patents to any subsequent subsection (k) applicant under subsection (1)(3)(A) or (1)(7), the reference product sponsor shall update the information provided to the Secretary under this clause with any additional patents from such subsequent or supplemental list and their corresponding expiry dates.

"(iv) LISTING OF EXCLUSIVITIES.—For each biological product included on the list published under this subparagraph, the Secretary shall specify each exclusivity period under paragraph (6) or paragraph (7) for which the Secretary has determined such biological product to be eligible and that has not concluded.

"(B) REVOCATION OR SUSPENSION OF LICENSE.—If the license of a biological product is determined by the Secretary to have been revoked or suspended for safety, purity, or potency reasons, it may not be published in



the list under subparagraph (A). If such revocation or suspension occurred after inclusion of such biological product in the list published under subparagraph (A), the reference product sponsor shall notify the Secretary that—

“(i) the biological product shall be immediately removed from such list for the same period as the revocation or suspension; and

“(ii) a notice of the removal shall be published in the Federal Register.”.

(b) REVIEW AND REPORT ON TYPES OF INFORMATION TO BE LISTED.—Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(1) solicit public comment regarding the type of information, if any, that should be added to or removed from the list required by paragraph (9) of section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(k)), as added by subsection (a); and

(2) transmit to Congress an evaluation of such comments, including any recommendations about the types of information that should be added to or removed from the list.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 1520), as amended, was passed.

#### GREAT LAKES ENVIRONMENTAL SENSITIVITY INDEX ACT OF 2020

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the message to accompany S. 1342.

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the bill from the Senate (S. 1342) entitled “An Act to require the Under Secretary for Oceans and Atmosphere to update periodically the environmental sensitivity index products of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for each coastal area of the Great Lakes, and for other purposes.”, do pass with an amendment.

#### MOTION TO CONCUR

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I move to concur in the House amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the motion be agreed to and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES LEGISLATIVE ENGAGEMENT ACT OF 2019

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 333, S. 1310.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1310) to strengthen the participation of elected national legislators in the activities of the Organization of American States and reaffirm United States support for Organization of American States human rights and anti-corruption initiatives, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment to strike all after the enacting

clause and insert the committee-reported substitute amendment.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee-reported substitute amendment be withdrawn; that the Wicker-Cardin substitute amendment at the desk be agreed to; and that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The committee-reported amendment, in the nature of a substitute, was withdrawn.

The amendment (No. 2700) was agreed to, as follows

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Organization of American States Legislative Engagement Act of 2020”.

#### SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Charter of the Organization of American States establishes that “representative democracy is an indispensable condition for the stability, peace and development of the region”.

(2) Article 2 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter of the Organization of American States affirms that “the effective exercise of representative democracy is the basis for the rule of law and of the constitutional regimes of the member states of the Organization of American States”.

(3) Article 26 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter states that “the OAS will continue to carry out programs and activities designed to promote democratic principles and practices and strengthen a democratic culture in the Hemisphere”.

(4) In accordance with the OAS Charter and the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the OAS General Assembly, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS Secretariat have established a wide range of cooperative agreements with domestic and international organizations, including national legislative institutions.

(5) In 2004, OAS General Assembly Resolution 2044 (XXXIV-O/04) appealed for the “strengthening of legislatures, as well as inter-parliamentary cooperation on key items of the inter-American agenda, with a view, in particular, to generating initiatives to fight corruption, poverty, inequality, and social exclusion”.

(6) In 2005, OAS General Assembly Resolution 2095 (XXXV-O/05) called on the OAS Secretariat to “invite [ . . . ] the presidents or speakers of the national legislative institutions of the Americas, i.e., congresses, parliaments, or national assemblies, [ . . . ] to attend a special meeting of the Permanent Council [ . . . ] for the initiation of a dialogue on topics on the hemispheric agenda”.

(7) In 2014 and 2015, the OAS Secretariat expanded its engagement with elected national legislators from OAS member states by convening two meetings of presidents of national legislatures, first in Lima, Peru and subsequently in Santiago, Chile.

(8) However, no permanent procedures exist to facilitate the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities.

(9) The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly has proven successful at strengthening inter-parliamentary cooperation among its member states.

#### SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is that sense of Congress that—

(1) elected national legislators play an essential role in the exercise of representative democracy in the Americas, including by—

(A) promoting economic freedom and respect for property rights;

(B) promoting the rule of law and combating corruption;

(C) defending human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

(D) advancing the principles and practices expressed in the Charter of the Organization of American States, the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, and the Inter-American Democratic Charter;

(2) establishing procedures and mechanisms to facilitate the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities could contribute to the promotion of democratic principles and practices and strengthen a democratic culture in the Western Hemisphere;

(3) increasing and strengthening the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities could advance the principles and proposals expressed in section 4 of the Organization of American States Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41; 127 Stat. 549);

(4) the OAS General Assembly, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS Secretariat should take steps to facilitate greater participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities;

(5) the OAS Permanent Council resolutions titled “Guidelines for the Participation of Civil Society in OAS Activities” and “Strategies for Increasing and Strengthening Participation by Civil Society Organizations in OAS Activities” should serve as important references for efforts to bolster the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities; and

(6) the successful experience of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly should serve as a model to the OAS in creating a similar mechanism.

#### SEC. 4. STRENGTHENING PARTICIPATION OF ELECTED NATIONAL LEGISLATORS AT THE OAS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, acting through the United States Mission to the Organization of American States, should use the voice and vote of the United States to support the creation of procedures for the Organization of American States that—

(1) enhance the participation of democratically elected national legislators from OAS member state countries in OAS activities that advance the principles of the Inter-American Democratic Charter and the core values of the OAS consistent with the principles and proposals expressed in section 4 of the Organization of American States Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41; 127 Stat. 549);

(2) create an annual forum for democratically elected national legislators from OAS member states to discuss issues of hemispheric importance, including regional efforts to defend human rights and combat transnational criminal activities, corruption, and impunity;

(3) permit elected national legislators from OAS member states to make presentations, contribute information, and provide expert advice, as appropriate, to the OAS Secretariat, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS General Assembly about OAS activities on issues of hemispheric importance;

(4) lead to the creation of a mechanism to regularly facilitate the participation of elected national legislators in OAS activities; and

(5) reinforce OAS Secretariat programs that provide technical assistance for the modernization and institutional strengthening of national legislatures from OAS member states.

(b) EXPENSES.—The Secretary of State, acting through the United States Mission to

the Organization of American States, as appropriate, shall seek to ensure that expenses related to the procedures set forth in this Act do not increase member quotas, assessed fees, or voluntary contributions and that the Secretariat of the OAS shall seek to ensure shared financial responsibilities among the member states in facilitating the financial support necessary to carry out this initiative.

#### SEC. 5. SUPPORT FOR OAS HUMAN RIGHTS AND ANTI-CORRUPTION INITIATIVES.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the efforts of the OAS Secretary General and Secretariat to combat corruption and impunity in the Americas represent important contributions to strengthening the rule of law and democratic governance in the Americas; and

(2) the United States should support efforts to ensure the effectiveness and independence of OAS initiatives to combat corruption and impunity in the Americas.

(b) ANTI-CORRUPTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROMOTION STRATEGY.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of the Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a strategy for supporting OAS anti-corruption and human rights promotion efforts. The strategy should include—

(1) an assessment of United States programs, activities, and initiatives with the OAS to support anti-corruption and human rights promotion in the Americas;

(2) a summary of the steps taken by the United States Mission to the OAS to strengthen anti-corruption and anti-impunity efforts in the Americas;

(3) an assessment of necessary reforms and initiatives to prioritize and reinforce the OAS Secretary General and Secretariat's efforts to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas;

(4) a detailed plan to facilitate increased OAS collaboration, as appropriate, with relevant stakeholders, including elected national legislators and civil society, in support of an approach to promote human rights and combat transnational criminal activities, corruption, and impunity in the Americas; and

(5) a detailed plan for implementing the strategy set forth in this section of the Act.

#### SEC. 6. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a report on OAS processes, initiatives, and reforms undertaken to implement section 4, actions taken to implement the strategy required under section 5(b), and steps taken to implement the Organization of American States Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41). The report should include—

(1) an analysis of the progress made by the OAS to adopt and effectively implement reforms and initiatives to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas; and

(2) a detailed assessment of OAS efforts to increase stakeholder engagement to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas.

(b) BRIEFINGS.—Not later than one year after the Secretary of State submits the report required under subsection (a), and annually thereafter for two additional years, the Secretary shall provide to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House

of Representatives a briefing on the information required to be included in such report.

#### SEC. 7. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON ELECTED NATIONAL LEGISLATOR.

It is the sense of Congress that an elected national legislator participating in the activities outlined in this Act should be an individual that—

(1) was elected as a result of periodic, free and fair elections; and

(2) is not known to be under investigation or convicted for corruption or transnational criminal activities, including trafficking of people, goods, or illicit narcotics, money-laundering, terrorist financing, acts of terrorism, campaign finance violations, bribery, or extortion.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I know of no further debate on the bill, as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 1310), as amended, was passed.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2021—CONFERENCE REPORT—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I see that my colleague and classmate is here on the floor. I got to hear his speech earlier today, and it was one of the best speeches that he has given and the best instruction that all of us should listen to.

He has far more experience than just the time that he was a classmate with me, because he served in the House as well. He is Mr. Agriculture and has solved a lot of problems in those areas, and it has been a pleasure to be here with him. And I leave with him. He has done an outstanding job.

We also like some of the same literature.

#### THE BUDGET

Mr. President, it has been an honor to serve as the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee for the past 6 years. There is no question that these have been challenging times. They have culminated in the current pandemic that we continue to confront. Throughout all of these challenges, I am proud to say that the committee has played a key role in working to address the fiscal challenges facing our Nation. We put in place policies that helped grow our economy and improve the congressional budget process.

Now I need to make a clarification for anybody who might be listening. The Budget Committee is not the spending committee. That is the Ap-

propriations Committee. The Budget Committee does a roadmap that is supposed to provide some discipline for the people doing the spending. That is where we need to do a lot more work.

I want to start off by telling you a little budget story. My youngest daughter and her family are strict budgeters. They follow Dave Ramsey's principles, and the whole family participates in monthly allocation of their resources. It has made a huge difference in their ability to pay off things and to enjoy life.

A year ago, my older daughter picked up my granddaughters from their after-school activities and said: How would you like to go to McDonald's for dinner? Of course, they were thrilled.

My daughter said: Well, maybe we ought to call your parents and see if they would like it too.

At this point the older daughter, who I think was 11 at the time, said: Who is paying?

And she said: I am.

She said: Oh, OK, because we have already used our eating-out budget.

That is family participation in budgeting.

As a result, I also have the youngest granddaughter, who saved up for an Apple watch. Do you know how much restraint of spending that is so you can reach the goal that you want and buy what you really need? That is good budgeting.

We can do good budgeting, but we have to have good appropriations to follow it up too.

The committee has had some real successes over the past 6 years.

We passed four budgets, including the first balanced 10-year blueprint approved by Congress since 2001.

We also played a key role in helping pass the most sweeping update of our Nation's tax system in more than 30 years. The passage of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act started with the approval of the FY 2018 Senate Budget Resolution. That resolution started the process to construct legislation that reduced tax rates for millions of Americans and modernized our antiquated Tax Code. It also supported responsible energy development that will keep energy affordable and provide a long-term supply for American energy.

Oversight was also a critical part of the committee's work. During my time as chairman, we worked to ensure the Federal Government was accountable to the public by boosting transparency, by improving Federal financial management, by identifying duplication of Federal programs, and by approving Federal information technology.

Increasing the transparency of our congressional budget process has also been a major priority. After becoming chairman, I restarted the practice of publicly releasing regular scorekeeping reports—which we publish on our committee website—that show how we spent the money. More recently, we developed information on the budgetary effects of the various COVID-19 bills. We can get those online.



Providing information like this on an ongoing basis is one more tool for committees and taxpayers alike to see how the current law stacks up against the budget we are required to adhere to. Scorekeeping reports operate just like regular checkups with the dentist or doctor to help identify risks and find solutions before more serious problems emerge.

In 2015, we also began regular public oversight hearings with the Congressional Budget Office. This was the first CBO oversight hearing in more than 30 years. Because of our efforts, CBO now regularly publicly releases information, tracking its forecasting records, the accuracy of estimates and projections, and the data it uses in its work.

While we have had some successes, there are still many serious challenges facing our Nation. Even before coronavirus came to our shores, our country was moving down an unsustainable fiscal path. The pandemic has only accelerated this, with Congress approving COVID relief legislation that would add more than \$2.6 trillion to our debt so far. In the near-term this spending, necessary as it may have been, translated into an overall deficit of \$3.1 trillion in fiscal year 2020, more than triple the amount recorded the previous fiscal year. CBO's most recent "Long-Term Budget Outlook" paints an even more dire picture of deficits and debt rising to unprecedented levels if current laws remain unchanged—and this represents the best-case scenario.

For decades, CBO, the Government Accountability Office, economists, and Members of Congress have been raising the alarm that if we continued on this course, our debt would explode with potentially devastating economic consequences, leaving us unable to fulfill the promises of the past. That day always seemed a long time away. But time waits for no one, and tomorrow is fast arriving.

By 2023, barely 2 years away, CBO projects that debt as a percentage of GDP will reach an all-time high of 107 percent. By 2050, debt could reach 195 percent of gross domestic product—which is the amount of actual production we do in the United States—and the annual deficit would reach 12.6 percent of GDP. That is where the tax money comes from.

Spending as a percent of GDP will rise 31.2 percent by 2050, primarily due to—this is very important—due to rising Social Security, healthcare costs, and net interest spending.

CBO projects that net interest spending will exceed all discretionary spending in 2043 and will exceed Social Security by 2046. By 2050, spending on interest will be larger than any single program. That is the interest on the debt. That doesn't pay down any debt. That is just the interest on the debt. By 2050, it will be the single largest program.

Now, that is assuming we continue with the extremely low interest rates that we get now. We are not even close

to the national average. We are way below the national average. The national average would be 5 percent. If that were to happen, the only thing we would be able to fund would be interest on the national debt. You didn't hear me mention Social Security or Medicare or education or military or any of those things. That is why I have been mentioning this so often. Interest will eat us alive.

The amazing part of everything I just said is that this is the rosy scenario. Increases in spending or interest rates that are higher than the low rates assumed by CBO means that the outcomes are more severe than currently recorded. CBO expects rising deficits will have major negative economic consequences, including lower investment and output and a greater chance of a fiscal crisis. CBO notes that high and rising debt would also constrain policymakers' ability to borrow in response to future unforeseen emergencies, leaving the United States vulnerable in the face of potential disasters while also risking our national security.

CBO is the Congressional Budget Office, and it is a nonpartisan office that helps to make these evaluations. As I mentioned earlier, we are actually holding them accountable by having them come in and explain what they projected and how it matches up with what actually happens. So we should pay attention to them. I actually think that they come up with fairly low numbers.

I don't want to leave this body with nothing but doom and gloom. It is not too late to turn things around. We can be successful if we work together.

Contrary to what most people believe about Congress and what is reported in the media, I know both parties can work together. I have seen it firsthand as a member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and my work with Senator Ted Kennedy and, again, here on the Senate Budget Committee and my work with Senators WHITEHOUSE, KAINE, WARNER, KING, VAN HOLLEN, and others.

Bipartisanship will be key as Congress works to tackle our fiscal challenges. Instilling the Federal budget process with regular action and predictability, active legislative oversight and spending transparency—that is all critical to strengthening our democracy and reducing our Nation's unsustainable spending and debt.

Since taking the helm of the Committee, we have held more than a dozen hearings on the topic of budget process reform, soliciting expert testimony from a variety of sources, including economists, academics, State and local leaders, former chairs of the Budget Committee, and even people from other countries. This has been one of my top priorities as chairman, and we have had some early successes in this effort.

This includes the committee's unanimous bipartisan approval of new budget rules that included budget process

reforms, which have led to more orderly, meaningful, and transparent consideration of the budget resolutions in the committee. We followed those hearings by introducing and passing legislation, the Bipartisan Congressional Budget Reform Act, which represented the first bipartisan budget reform approved by the Senate Budget Committee since 1990.

I want to repeat that. In a bipartisan way, we passed a Congressional Budget Reform Act, and it represented the first bipartisan reforms approved by the Senate Budget Committee since 1990. A key focus of budget process reform is to make congressional budgets easier to pass and harder to ignore, while encouraging regular order in the normal funding process. If budgets are going to be a useful governing tool, they must matter. Budgets are the foundation by which we govern, the way we establish what matters most to our Nation, and where we agree limited resources should be focused.

We have seen time and again that when budgets are treated as an afterthought or as a wish list, our ability to legislate effectively and fulfill our most basic constitutional duties is made more difficult, if not impossible.

To restore budgets to their proper role, they must be enforceable, and they should increase fiscal accountability in Congress. If lawmakers approve a budget, they should stick to it. To that end, my bipartisan budget process reform legislation would make a number of important reforms, including creating a new enforcement tool that could be used only for reducing the deficit. I realize that we may not get this bill across the finish line before I complete my service, but I hope others will take up the effort and ensure the key parts, including fiscal accountability, are included in future reforms. I have had the assurance from both Members on this side of the aisle and the other side of the aisle that that is a possibility and a priority.

Next year, lawmakers will be confronted with the construction of a new budget and spending bills, and for the first time in almost a decade, it will be without spending caps. We have had some self-imposed limits on our spending before called spending caps, and it has been very irritating to people who want to spend money. But now they can do that because this will be the first time in almost a decade without the spending caps contained in the Budget Control Act.

Of course, even under the Budget Control Act, Congress regularly ignored the fiscal limits it contained, but starting next year, there will be no budget caps to guide overall funding levels or to curb Federal discretionary spending—no limits. This could be and should be a cause for great concern, but it is also a chance for us to work together to find a way to begin the process to address our fiscal challenges.

Of course, I mentioned that that is just curbing the Federal discretionary

spending. That is the little dab of money that the appropriators actually get to make a decision on, and 70 percent of what we do is already passed without a single vote from this body. And that number—we keep trying to shift discretionary things over to mandatory so people can be assured that the money will be spent, but seldom do we ever put any money with the new mandatory item.

But beyond the annual funding fight, our country faces an even more daunting fiscal crisis: the rapidly approaching depletion of several Federal trust funds. That includes the Highway Trust Fund next year. It also includes Medicare's Hospital Insurance Trust Fund. We have 4 years on that, 2024. There is the Disability Insurance Trust Fund, 2026, and the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund, 2031. Those are trust funds that are approaching depletion, running out of money.

OK. In the CBO's latest baseline, total scheduled spending for all pending trust fund programs will exceed their dedicated revenues by \$12.3 trillion over the next 10 years. This accounts for the majority of the \$13 trillion in cumulative deficits CBO projects the Nation will run over this period—depletion of the trust funds.

What happens when these trust funds run dry? Current law requires their spending to automatically be reduced to match their income. This means real cuts to crucial programs. I mentioned Social Security. It would have to go down to the amount of money that we actually receive going out to recipients of Social Security. That could be a big and immediate hurt.

So, again, a real challenge awaits next Congress as my tenure comes to a close. I am proud of what the Senate Budget Committee accomplished. We helped to improve the fiscal health of millions of Americans by passing the most comprehensive tax reform in a generation. We have also committed ourselves to working to improve the congressional budget process so Washington and Congress can get a better handle on what we are spending and where it is going, including a new tool that could be used only for reducing the deficit. We have worked to boost fiscal transparency, improve Federal financial management, identify duplication of Federal programs, and improve Federal information technology. But there is much more that needs to be done, and now those challenges will be passed to the next chairman.

While I have highlighted the problems, I am also leaving a roadmap with possible paths forward. I would ask all of my colleagues to work closely together to address these issues, as we can no longer push them off for someone else to fix later. We need to find the common ground. Tomorrow is here, and we have to start making those choices not only for ourselves but for our kids and our grandkids and our country.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CORONAVIRUS

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise today to remind all of my colleagues about the urgent, urgent need to pass coronavirus legislation. People need help, and they need it right now.

I am glad that bipartisan discussions are continuing. I think it is very positive, and I know that many of us are involved in those negotiations. I commend all of my colleagues who are working very hard to get this done.

It is critical that we come to an agreement that will help families and that will help businesses and communities get through this rough time, but time is running out, as we know. Our Nation is facing a crisis. Our States and local governments are facing a crisis as they are trying to gear up for an effective and rapid distribution of vaccines. Our local police officers, firefighters, public health workers, and other essential workers face layoffs.

The only real possibility that I see of defunding the police is the unwillingness, so far, by the majority leader to support funding local law enforcement in the COVID-19 emergency package that we are trying to get done. We all know that businesses and workers and families are facing a crisis.

We simply can't wrap up this session, we can't end this session and go home without responding to the urgent needs of the American people.

It has now been 1 week since the last time I was on the floor speaking about the need for more help. In the past week, more than 1 million additional people in the United States have become infected, and an additional 13,000 people in the United States have died because of COVID-19—13,000 moms and dads, grandpas and grandmas and friends and neighbors. We have now seen nearly 290,000 of our family members and friends and neighbors die of this horrible disease. That is like if the entire population of Grand Rapids and Flint, MI, simply disappeared.

Meanwhile, millions of families at risk of eviction are 1 week closer to finding themselves without a home in the winter in the middle of a health pandemic. Millions of small business owners have spent 1 more week scrambling to keep their workers on the payroll. Families don't have enough to eat, and they have spent 1 more week wondering where their next meal is going to come from for themselves and for their children.

A week is a long time to wait when you are in danger of being homeless or losing your job or being hungry or watching your child who is hungry. We

are running out of time. We are running out of time, and so many American businesses, workers, and families are running out of time.

On December 26, only 16 days from now—16 days from now, the day after Christmas—vital unemployment programs will end, cutting off benefits that millions of workers need to provide for their families. Somebody who is self-employed, a contract worker, a gig worker, they will receive zero help after that to feed their families and put a roof over their head and pay the bills through this pandemic.

Five days after that, on December 31, the Federal Reserve's emergency lending program ends. That will cut off crucial credit that is keeping businesses open and helping State and local governments provide necessary services. Also on December 31, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's eviction moratorium ends, putting more people on the street. The Federal foreclosure moratorium and some opportunities for forbearance expire.

It is cold in Michigan right now, and it is going to get colder. Imagine how frightening it would be to know that your family is losing their home in the middle of a pandemic in the middle of the winter.

The truth is, our Nation is not facing just a health crisis; we are facing an economic crisis; we are facing a housing crisis; we are facing a hunger crisis all at the same time.

These expiring programs have been a lifeline for families, for communities, and for businesses during the pandemic. That lifeline is now fraying, and a lack of action here in Washington could cause it to completely snap.

There is a lot of talk about numbers right now, and numbers are important, but much more important are the people who need help. They are not numbers. I am thinking of a Michigan mom of two growing boys who has been waiting hours in a line of cars, week after week, to bring home a box of food. I am thinking of a Michigan dad who has been looking so hard for a new job, but nobody wants to be hiring right now, and his unemployment help is almost out. I am thinking of the owner of a Michigan business who had no choice but to lay off half of their workers right before the holidays. I am thinking of a Michigan retiree who is behind on her rent. She could move in with her daughter's family, but their home is already crowded, and she doesn't want to be a burden, and we are in the middle of a pandemic where we are telling people to socially distance to be safe.

While we are debating, people are suffering and panicking because they are not sure what they are going to do. People can't wait another week, and we cannot either.

This is the United States of America. It is not like we don't have the capacity to fix this right now. It is all about political will. It is about, do we get it? Do we care about people? Do we understand what is happening to people? And

are we willing to support the bipartisan effort going on right now that can do something—at least provide a bridge for a few months, through the winter months, into the new year?

There is an opportunity going on. There is a lot of hard work going on. There is no excuse not to take this moment and to come together and provide help in what is a COVID survival package for people in Michigan and across the country. That is what this is.

We are at a moment where it is up to us to make sure that we get this done, and if not, we should not end this session until we do.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REMEMBERING JOE MORGAN

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Arkansas is known as the Natural State, and few have been more dedicated to preserving Arkansas in all of its natural beauty than was Joe Morgan.

Joe passed away last month at the age of 76. Joe was a lifelong Arkansan. He studied at Little Rock University—now the University of Arkansas—Little Rock—and he worked for many years as a car dealer for great American companies like General Motors and Chevrolet. He also served on the Arkansas Motor Vehicle Commission.

But Joe will probably be remembered most for his tireless advocacy on behalf of Arkansas' natural heritage and environment. Governor Hutchinson appointed Joe to the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission, where he quickly established himself as a champion for Arkansas duck hunters and the wilderness upon which they rely.

Joe hunted and fished in Stuttgart, the duck capital of the world. As a member of the commission, he made it his mission to ensure duck hunting remained a gentleman's sport and to preserve the hunting grounds he knew and loved so they would be available to future generations of Arkansans.

He was especially passionate about preserving Bayou Meto Waterfowl Management Area, one of the crown jewels of duck hunting in Arkansas.

He was instrumental in implementing safe boating regulations to protect hunters and waterfowl populations alike. He imposed time limits on when boats could be out on the water to preserve the health and sustainability of the duck population.

Joe's first priority was always to his fellow Arkansans. He pressed for limits on when nonresidents could hunt to ensure that locals were never pushed out of the hunting spots they grew up with.

Joe's fellow commissioners will remember him as a dogged defender of

hunting and fishing in Arkansas. His wife of 56 years, Judy, and his son, Brett, will remember him as a loving husband and father who was always ready with a joke—and always ready for a good shoot, a round of golf, or even a jaunt in his trusty Cessna 182.

As for me, I will remember Joe as a friend. I met Joe in my early campaigns, and we became fast friends. We talked and texted often. He even hosted me, with friends, in North Carolina to speak about Republican politics.

Joe Morgan may have left us, but he left his heart in Arkansas—in the well-stocked, flooded timber of Bayou Meto, which he helped to preserve.

In a fitting tribute to his legacy, Joe passed away on the opening day for duck hunting in Arkansas. Every hunter who enjoys Arkansas' natural beauty this season and every season in the future can thank Joe for the experience.

May he rest in peace.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRAUN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 1877

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I come to the floor today, 71 days in the fiscal year, 71 days into a continuing resolution. It is unfortunate. I am placing no blame.

It is unfortunate we have not considered on the floor of the U.S. Senate—not 1 of the 12 regular order appropriations bills. The appropriations process is completely broken. Quite honestly, it has been broken since I arrived here in the Senate in 2011.

I ran for the U.S. Senate primarily because I was concerned about the fact that we were mortgaging our children's future. Back then, we were \$14 trillion in debt, and that was extremely concerning to me. Now, 10 years later, 71 days into the 2021 fiscal year, we are \$27.4 trillion into debt. That is an increase of \$13.4 trillion. It is almost double since I have been here in just 10 years.

Again, the appropriations process is so broken. During that timeframe, we had to pass 36 continuing resolutions. The debt limit has no power in terms of controlling our out-of-control spending. We either raised or suspended the debt limit nine times.

Unfortunately, during that time, that 10 years, we have also—because of the broken process here—we have shut down the government three times, costing our economy, costing our government billions of dollars, and hurting real people.

I come from the State of Wisconsin, where, if the legislature can't get its act together and we don't pass appro-

priations bills and we are at an impasse, we don't shut down the government. We don't even shut down a particular agency. What we do is we do something that is pretty practical, the type of commonsense legislation that Wisconsinites would embrace. We just appropriate. We just fund the agencies or the entire State government at the previous year's level.

Doesn't that make sense? I think it makes all the sense in the world.

Again, here we are, 71 days into the fiscal year, and we haven't passed an appropriations bill. We have to pass, within the next 24 hours or so, our 37th continuing resolution to kick the can another week so we can get our act together and pass some kind of massive omnibus that nobody is going to be able to read before they actually vote for it. It is a completely broken process.

I recognize that as chairman of Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, a certain part of this government shutdown—this broken process—some of these elements weren't in my committee's jurisdiction. We had a number of pieces of legislation; one by Senator PORTMAN; one by Senator PAUL; one by Senator LANKFORD, who had been working on a similar piece of legislation from being in the House, to end government shutdowns forever.

As chairman of the committee, I had to take a look at these pieces of legislation and decide which one did I want to bring up to my committee, pass out of my committee, and bring to the floor of the Senate.

I chose Senator LANKFORD's because he had done a lot of hard work with Senator MAGGIE HASSAN on a bipartisan bill. Again, it is very simple. It didn't automatically increase spending, didn't automatically decrease spending. It did exactly what we do in Wisconsin.

If we don't get our act together, and we don't pass any appropriations bills or a single or two appropriations bills, we don't shut down the government. We don't shut down that agency. We just appropriate enough funds at last year's level, and we continue until we actually do pass an appropriations bill.

I know the members of the Appropriations Committee and have all the respect in the world for the chairman and the ranking member. I know they don't like CRs, but, again, this will be our 37th CR since I have been here for 10 years. It is broken.

But just in case they are concerned about these CRs, what I can give you is Wisconsin's history in this. Since we passed this commonsense reform, really, the longest CR we ever had in Wisconsin since we had this anti-government shutdown process was just 4 months in 1971. That is a long time ago, and it was only 4 months. We are approaching 4 months now.

Again, this is the 37th CR since I took office. We passed out of my committee—there were only two dissenting votes, two “no” votes. Those came

from two Senators who just had an alternate version of the End Government Shutdowns Act. We passed this out of my committee 12 to 2.

We have been working now for the last year trying to find some vehicle to add it on as an amendment to end this insanity.

We thought that with the group of us here, this would be a good time. It is a very simple bill. Again, if you don't pass an appropriations bill or all the appropriation bills, you just fund, you appropriate at last year's level. But we have a few little disciplines to force the Senators in Congress to do their job.

The first discipline is, we don't allow any Federal or campaign moneys to be spent on travel, which, basically, forces Members of Congress to stay here until we do get our act together, until we do pass appropriations bills and fund government that is necessary.

The other thing we do is we only allow Congress, each Chamber, to only bring up appropriations bills in their Chamber. There is an exception, of course, for any bill that would have to do with an immediate national security emergency. That is pretty much it.

In committee, Senator SCOTT had an amendment, which I will turn to him to have him describe the final discipline to force Members of Congress to do their jobs: pass appropriations bills and fund government without shutting the government down.

Senator SCOTT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. First, I want to thank the chairman for his effort to try to figure out how we can stop shutting down the government.

When I came up here with Senator BRAUN 2 years ago, we were in a government shutdown, and nobody wins. It doesn't work for any part of government when government gets shut down. I know, talking to the appropriations chair and ranking member, that they are also focused on making sure of what we can do to make sure we pass budgets, pass our spending bills, and not shut down the government.

I want to fight the way Washington has been working. I want to make sure it works for all Florida families, not just career politicians.

I have a background in business like Chairman JOHNSON does. In the real world, if you don't do your job, you don't get paid. It is really simple. If Congress can't accomplish its most basic task—which I believe is passing a budget, appropriations bills, in an orderly fashion—then why should we get paychecks? I think it is pretty simple.

When you listen to what Chairman JOHNSON just said; that the current system in Washington is clearly broken, there is no—a lot of people care about this, but there is no one, ultimately, who has responsibility and there are no consequences and it costs our system a lot of money. Congress

doesn't pass a budget. Instead, they just pass temporary measures, and it kicks the can down the road.

The thing that has been surprising to me since I got up here is how little of the budget we actually review every year. It is surprising to me that about 70 percent of the budget we don't even look at every year. I think all these things are unacceptable. Congress can't continue to just get away with not doing its basic job and creating a burden.

We have to do something different. That is why I am proud to join my colleagues today to pass the Prevent Government Shutdowns Act, which includes my no budget, no pay proposal.

Withholding paychecks from Members of Congress who fail to pass a budget will help prevent government shutdowns, which hurt the economy, hurt millions of people.

It is also an important step to promote fiscal responsibility in the face of what Senator JOHNSON said: \$27.4 trillion worth of debt. I believe we need to pass the No Budget, No Pay Act now to show we are serious about getting this spending under control and we are serious about the future of this Nation.

Members of Congress make significantly more than the average American makes. We make \$174,000 a year, and we are asking them to do the most basic function: pass a budget. It is not complicated. I think every Member of Congress—rich or poor—can agree Congress should pass a budget every year. There is absolutely no reason we can't. Anyone who disagrees should not have this job.

Let's go back. When the American people don't do their job, there are consequences. It is time we make Washington work a little bit like what the real world looks like. Let's pass the Prevent Government Shutdowns Act and get the No Budget, No Pay Act done.

I refer to my colleague from Indiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BRAUN. Mr. President, Rick mentioned that back in 2018, we ran on what we are talking about today. We wouldn't be honest to the people who elected us to come here.

I had eight pages of prepared remarks. This is something I have talked about so often. I am going to cover some new terrain to make it relatable to the citizens across this country about how this place works and how it is so different from how anything else works.

A few of us come from the world of accountability—the business world—where you don't have the luxury of doing what we do here in the Federal Government. Listen to this closely because this is what most citizens don't understand. We are given the revenues here in this place, and our only job, No. 1, should be not to spend more than what we are given. We don't do that.

We borrow 23 percent, roughly, of what we spend. Try taking that to your

banker, running a business, see if you can get a loan doing that. That is just a real simple way to look at how we do this year after year.

On Main Street, whether you are running a business, whether it is your household—I served in State government for 3 years. We were smart enough to have a balanced budget amendment. We believed in things like a rainy day fund. It was in our DNA. We didn't have to think about it; that in the long run, you are not going to succeed if you spend more than what you take in.

Coming out of World War II was the highest level of national debt we ever had—roughly, where we are now. That generation, we know what they went through. They were savers. They were investors and not only in government. We are now spenders and consumers.

You would think that in the biggest business in the world—we spend about \$4.5 trillion a year. We take in maybe about \$3.5. Of course, in a year like this, where you had a pandemic, add another \$3 trillion or so to the national debt. And structurally, we will be marching, over the next 5 to 7 years, to where that goes to \$1.5 trillion a year. Start adding all that up.

Here is what is going to happen. When we are in a position like we are now, where you can borrow money for nearly nothing—we are the only reserve currency in the world that allows us to do it—that doesn't mean you should do it because we are piling up obligations on our kids and our grandkids, and we might as well admit it. How have we evolved to get to where we are now? I don't think that is as much an issue as we know where we are now. It is not sustainable.

Here is what is going to happen to the most important programs we have and that everybody likes: Social Security, Medicare. Medicare has been around since the mid-1960s. All of us have been paying into it, employers and employees. Every penny will be exhausted out of the trust fund, and that was about 5 to 5½ years. Now it has advanced, due to our current financial situation, to maybe 4 or 5. What happens? This will be the first reality, the shock that comes to the American public—especially elderly who depend on Medicare for their healthcare—18 percent across-the-board cuts. Think of the static and the uproar we will hear then.

We can stop it if we just have a little discipline. That is mostly about embracing something like I put forward, the Fair Care Act, which is the most comprehensive, aggressive with healthcare costs in this country.

As a CEO from Main Street, and CEOs across the country, small business owners, the biggest problem we deal with is the high cost of healthcare. Of course, we here protect a healthcare industry that is broken. And you have another side that wants to get more government involved. And, really, all it takes there is to have

transparency and competition—have a consumer who is engaged in his or her own well-being, and you would have prices cascade down.

Those are tough decisions. You take on three of the four biggest lobbies in the country—pharma, hospitals, and insurance. That is another thing that doesn't make this place work. With Social Security, we have some time there, but that was crafted back when life spans were a lot shorter than what they are now. We knew that actuarially, and it has been coming at us for years. We have until, maybe, 2032 or 2033. We have been paying into that since the Great Depression, but every penny out of the trust fund will be gone. I think you get the picture.

When I came here—as did Senator JOHNSON from Wisconsin, Senator SCOTT from Florida, and a few fiscal conservatives, like Senator LEE and a few others who will weigh in on this—I talked about what was uncomfortable. Well, to me, we have had all of this time, and we have not done anything about it. We have the perfect opportunity. We know we are in this current dynamic, and we know we will have to get through it, but what we are here to do today is to get a vote on a simple bill that says, do not shut the government down when we are trying to get through these issues.

Put a little bit of rigor and discipline into the process with the No Budget, No Pay Act, and then, maybe, we can get to the point at which we give the American public a better product. Imagine if everything were given to you in terms of your revenues. First of all, don't spend more than what you take in. When you have a year to do something, start on day one. That is the way it works in the real world, and that is the way it works in a household. That is the way it worked on a school board on which I served for 10 years, and that is the way it works in a place like Indiana, which balances its budget every year, has a rainy day fund, and lives responsibly.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCOTT of Florida). The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, article I, section 9, clause 7 of the Constitution makes clear that no money will be drawn from the Treasury except by an appropriation passed by Congress. Article I, section 7 of the Constitution likewise makes clear that you can't pass an appropriation or any other form of legislation without the same document, the same bill, the same proposal passing the House of Representatives and passing the Senate and then being submitted to the President for signature, veto, or acquiescence.

Over time, particularly in the last decade, it has become increasingly common for Congress to recognize the cumbersome nature of that process, which is cumbersome by design. It is sometimes easier to just circumvent the process, technically complying

with its commands but doing so in a way that doesn't really invite or even allow for individual Members or their constituents to know what they are voting for when they vote on a spending bill. This is what we have come to refer to as governing by cliff in the spending context, and it has, sadly, become the status quo in Washington. It often provides Members with a simple binary choice when they are facing a spending bill.

When you come up against a spending cliff, it means a deadline, almost always one arbitrarily imposed by the previous spending bill. It is when you come up close to that and there is no spending bill on the floor until, maybe, a day or two or sometimes an hour or two or sometimes more like a minute or two. It is something that has been negotiated behind closed doors by only a small handful of Members of Congress, excluding everyone else in the House, everyone else in the Senate, and the hundreds of millions of people they collectively represent.

Sometimes that kind of legislation is brought forward—not just sometimes. Basically, it is every time. As my friend and colleague the Senator from Wisconsin noted a minute ago, I think this will mark the 37th consecutive time that Congress has passed something like this or it is, at least, the 37th time that Congress has passed something like this since Senator JOHNSON and I came to the Senate and were sworn into office in 2011.

The problem with this is that Members can't reasonably know what they are voting on in advance, and then they are given the simple binary choice to take it or leave it. You won't have any opportunity to amend it. You really won't even have the opportunity to read it or understand it, much less communicate its contents to your constituents, who will have to pay for it. You can vote for that in its entirety or you can vote against it, but if you vote against it and it doesn't pass, you will be blamed singlehandedly for shutting down the government regardless of whether you would have preferred to have brought up and, in fact, had tried for a long period of time to bring up spending bills prior to that last possible moment. This puts the American people and their elected lawmakers in the House and the Senate in an untenable position, one that I would analogize to a circumstance of an individual who lives in an outlying area.

Let's suppose that you move to an outlying area, one that is distant from any other town. Let's suppose that, on your first day of work after moving to that town, you are about to leave home, and you speak to your significant other on the phone, who informs you: Bring home bread, milk, and eggs when you stop by the store. Make sure you get those on your way home. Don't come home without them.

So you go to this grocery store in this outlying area that is distant from any other town. It is the only store in

town. It is the only store, in fact, for hours in any direction. You go to the store, and you get your cart. You put in your bread. You get the milk, and you put in the eggs. Then you get to the checkout counter.

The checkout person says: OK. This is how much the eggs cost, the bread, and the milk, but there is a problem.

What is the problem?

Well, you can't buy just these items.

Why can't I buy just these items?

I am not going to let you buy the bread or the milk or the eggs unless you also buy a half a ton of iron ore and a bucket of nails and a book about cowboy poetry. In fact, now that I think about it, you are going to have to buy one of every item in the store.

Nobody would want to live that way, and nobody would want to shop that way. Of course, that is never the way we would want to do business in our government; yet, in some ways, it kind of is because a small handful of people put together that shopping list, so to speak, and put it together in one bill. Those bills are often hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of pages long, and we usually have no more than a few hours to read them before they are passed into law.

That is where this legislation comes about. The End Government Shutdowns Act would force Congress to abandon this barbaric, binary form of appropriations. Perhaps more importantly, it would end the threat of the shutdown, which is very often the propellant, the fuel, for perpetuating this barbaric form of alienation—this barbaric form of the disenfranchisement of most of the people represented by most Democrats and most Republicans in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

Look, I understand that none of this is easy, and I have nothing but profound respect and affection for my colleagues who are involved in writing these bills. That respect and affection should cut both ways, and it should mean that we have the opportunity to vote on spending bills before they hit us so that we are not left with this awful, untenable, binary choice between funding everything that a small handful of Members has foreordained or voting for nothing and being blamed for a shutdown.

We have to end the process of spending by cliff. This and only this, I believe, is something that could bring certainty to Americans and will allow for more time to bring these bills to the floor and will allow for the kind of transparency that the American people need, expect, and deserve but, for the last decade or two, have not received.

Mr. President, I yield my time back to my friend and colleague, Senator JOHNSON from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON. I yield time to Senator LEAHY.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have found so much of what I have heard that I can agree with. I certainly agree that we ought to be able to pass our annual appropriations bills. I certainly

agree that we should prevent Federal Government shutdowns, which waste billions upon billions upon billions of dollars' worth of taxpayers' money, plus all of the burdens they put on American families, Federal employees, and so forth. But I am afraid that my good friends on the other side of the aisle are letting rhetoric get ahead of reality.

The reality is that the majority in the Senate controls the calendar in the Senate. All of these appropriations bills could have been brought up in June or July or September. We could have voted on them, piece by piece, up and down, and had amendments. Everybody would have had plenty of time to have read every line of them, to have amendments to strike things or add things they wanted. I mention this because it can be done. The House of Representatives, under Democratic control—I don't mean that to be partisan but to show the difference—they actually passed all of their appropriations bills and its COVID bill, the so-called Heroes Act, in May.

In the Appropriations Committee, we have been working very hard. Senator SHELBY's staff has, and mine has too. We have given up a lot of time with my colleagues—and for all good reasons. Many of us stayed here working on those appropriations bills, but we couldn't bring the bills up.

Now, the Republican leader, the majority leader, could have brought up any one of these bills at any time he had wanted. We could have done it, allowing a 1-hour time agreement for amendments. After all, the Republicans in the majority have nothing to fear about that. If they don't like an amendment, they can vote it down. This would give the Senator from Utah and everybody else a chance to read each one of these bills. If they don't like it, bring up an amendment to strike it. That could have been done; it was not.

One of the reasons it was not done was because we had to take up Senate time, day after day after day, to put through nominees—mostly backed by special interest groups—on the Federal bench and elsewhere. We had to vote on those. Why? We can vote on those, but also take the time to vote on these things. Bring up the appropriations bills, and vote on them one by one. Amend them if you want; vote them down if you want.

I say to my friends on the other side of the aisle, You have the majority. You can vote them all down or vote them all up. But what happens when you enact an automatic CR, which I would oppose, it means you don't work out the parts of full-year appropriations bills. There would be no incentive for Members to negotiate full-year appropriations bills. We were not elected to put the government on autopilot. We were elected to make careful choices.

I would argue the reason we are here is that people were afraid to actually

stand up and vote up or down on appropriations bills earlier this year when they had the chance. It is easy to say: Golly gee, let's have an automatic continuing resolution. Sounds good. What it says is that we can take all of our weekends off. We can have the government fly us home. We can pay for all of these things, but we don't do our work.

What I am saying is we should have stayed here over a few weekends. I would say to my friends on the other side of the aisle, the Republican side, allow the bills to come up one by one and vote them up or down. If you don't like parts of it, vote to take it out. Vote it up or down. Again, you have the majority, if you don't like what is in there. Full-year appropriations bills give Congress the opportunity to address the needs of today rather than continue the priorities of the past.

I have been here long enough to know that things that looked great 2 or 3 years ago are not the priorities today because things change. Certainly, under COVID, we have seen, in many ways, a 15-year change in society, education, business, industries, and more in 15 weeks.

So each year in the annual appropriations bills, Congress adjusts spending levels to deal with emerging issues facing the American people. We can eliminate funding for projects that have been completed or no longer needed. We can direct funding to higher priority programs. It is detailed, exacting work. It is nice to talk in slogans and generalities, but I invite those Senators to sit down and go through, day by day, the kind of work the Senators and the superb staff, both Republican and Democratic, do in putting together this legislation. It is detailed, exacting work, but it is what the American people expect. That is what we all thought was a smart decision about how to invest their hard-earned tax dollars.

If you operate under an automatic CR, none of these adjustments can be made. Automatic CRs lock in the status quo, and we can say: Bye-bye. We are heading home for the holidays. Oh, an emergency in COVID came up? Well, it is not in the automatic CR, so tough. We didn't have time to do anything about it. Oh, there is flooding in Florida or Nebraska or fires in the West or anything else. Well, the automatic CR didn't cover it because we didn't have money for it a year before.

No, that is not the way to do it. The Congress and the White House have a responsibility to work together to enact funding bills to keep the government open. Automatic CRs might save face and time and allow us to do other things that we might like to do back home, but in doing so, they relieve us of our obligations to the Constitution and to the American taxpayer. We shouldn't be relieved of these obligations.

I know the last time we had a government shutdown, it was over a bill where the President felt that it didn't give him enough for a wall along the

border between the United States and Mexico, a wall that is being built at great expense and accomplishing very little. That is why it was stopped.

So for a month and a half, we sat there, parts of the government closed down, our States, our people, our Federal Government losing billions upon billions upon billions of dollars. You know how that finally got reopened? We started off a series of meetings on a Monday. The House was in session; the Senate was in session. It was a good time to begin. We began in Senator SHELBY's office, and we continued it in my office here in the Capitol.

We had two the chair and ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee. We had two Senators: my good friend—and he is a good and close friend—DICK SHELBY, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and myself as the vice chairman. And the four of us sat there for 3 or 4 hours. We talked about everything from photography to travel and then went in line by line of the bills, and we came to an agreement. And we were able to explain our agreement to the House and the Senate, and it was voted through, and the government reopened.

Incidentally, the President praised it. He said that he had gone through it, and it was so good. And I thank him for doing that because it gave him a lot less money for the wall than the bill that he vetoed had given him.

But the government reopened.

I mention this because it seems that those billions of dollars were spent more as a political stunt than something that benefits hard-earned taxpayer dollars.

So instead of rhetoric that ignores reality, let's get to the reality. Let's pledge—whoever is in the majority in the end—we will bring up each of the appropriations bills, vote them up or down or amend them. We could have done this in June or July. If we had done that, we wouldn't be where we are now. It was a missed opportunity.

If we say let's have an automatic CR no matter what happens, whether we have earthquakes, floods, fires, COVID, attacks on the United States, anything else, we can just sit back and relax, not have to do all of the weekends and holidays and late-night work that many of us in both parties do on appropriations because we have got an automatic CR.

When I came to the Senate, both the Republican and Democratic leaders told me—and I was the most junior Member of the Senate at the time—that we should be the conscience of the Nation. It meant doing your work.

I never expected to be the dean of the Senate, but I have seen both Republicans and Democrats do that work. At times, it has been into late Friday night or early Saturday morning, but we have done it and passed it.

Where did those days go? Where did those days go?

So when Senator SHELBY became chair and I became vice chair, we passed a series of appropriations bills.



And I think we got 80, 90, 95, and sometimes 100 Senators to vote for those bills. We usually can't get a vote with that many to say the Sun rises in the East. The majority gave us time to bring those votes up, debate them, and vote them up or down.

I will have more comments to make. I don't question the good intentions of any Senator here, but what I am saying is, we could have done this in June; we could have done it in July; we could have done it in August; we could have done it in September; we could have done it in November. And to now complain—well, up to the last few days, we have got to change everything. Instead, let's pledge that we will follow regular order in the coming days.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRAUN). The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Vermont.

I think what Senator LEE and I were talking about is, you know, as opposed to the way it used to be, when we got here in 2011, the appropriations process was completely broken, and it is still broken. And it has been a bipartisan failure.

I arrived in 2011 under Democratic leadership. Now we are in a Republican leadership. It is broken.

The good news is the Preventing Government Shutdown Act is a bipartisan solution. It passed 12-to-2 out of my committee. It is cosponsored, largely, by Senator LANKFORD and Senator HASSAN.

The concerns that the Senator from Vermont expressed about an automatic CR and passage of this bill is addressed in the bill. The bill has the disciplines to force us to only work on appropriations bills. We can leave town but not on the Federal dime, not on campaign money. We will have to pay for that ourselves.

And I don't know what we are going to pay for it with because we are not going to get paid until we actually pass the appropriations bill. So the discipline is already set in here. That is what is so beautiful about this bill, what is so elegant about it.

As I said, in Wisconsin, once they enforced this discipline, the most we have ever had is a 4-month CR. We are 71 days into this CR, and we are going to pass it for another week.

This process is broken. The Preventing Government Shutdown Act is a solution that will force us back to the good old days, where we bring up the appropriations bills, because my guess is that not many Members of Congress aren't going to want to not get paid and not be able to go back to their district.

So it will focus our minds. We will only be able to work on appropriations bills, other than in a national emergency. We will get the job done. That is what happened in Wisconsin. This is a solution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the im-

mediate consideration of Calendar No. 304, S. 1877. I ask that the committee-reported substitute amendment be withdrawn, the Braun substitute amendment at the desk be considered agreed to, and the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed, and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SHELBY. Reserving the right to object.

My colleagues, I believe here today, are promoting legislation that they claim will spur Congress to pass appropriations bills in the event of a government shutdown—in other words, to avoid it.

I think they have a good idea, but would that do the job? I doubt it, but this debate will go on, and it should because I agree with the frustration that so many of you have, including the Presiding Officer here. We are having to part with it.

My colleague from Vermont, Senator LEAHY, and I, for 2 straight years, with cooperation—bipartisanship—were able basically to pass these appropriations bills, most of them, for the first time in years. This has slowed down this year, absolutely. I know it is a big Presidential race and everybody running this year and that throws it into it.

But we would like to pass these bills before October 1, just as you would. But I don't believe this legislation would do what you think it would do, and I think it deserves further inquiry and scrutiny.

I believe it would exacerbate, in some ways, the problem that we are trying to resolve here. We are right now close to closing out, hopefully, all of our appropriations bills. We call it an omnibus. I agree with their frustration. We should, as a body, both parties, every Member of the Senate, should have had the priority, No. 1, to do this before October 1 each year, as we used to do it.

So unless this legislation somehow prohibits political partisanship, I don't believe it will increase the probability that we get our work done, shutdown or not.

I think the key is to work together. Senator LEAHY and I have demonstrated that in a few years, but we need all of us to come together on this and place the rules first, place the government—don't shut down.

I stand before you every day. The worst thing we can do is shut down the government. The specter of a shutdown is bad in itself, which we face right today.

So I believe the most important incentive right now for us to do is try to work together. If we can't, we are going to have to do something. It might be something like what you are talking about, but I think it deserves further debate, further inquiry.

And there is a political downside to all this, I know. But if we work to-

gether, we will get these bills passed. Nobody is more acutely aware of that than my colleague from Vermont, who has been on the Appropriations Committee for many years, before I was even there. But the American people, as someone said here today, elected us to do our job. They are absolutely right—we should do our job and do it promptly, and we can if we work together.

Having said that, I know this issue is not going away unless we do our job like we should, but I object to the unanimous consent request at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON. I appreciate the words from the Senators from Vermont and Alabama. I would like to work with you, and I think all of us would like to work with you on a solution to this problem. So I appreciate those words, and I look forward to working with you in the future on this.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I have profound respect and admiration for both the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Vermont. As you can tell from their remarks, they are congenial, collegial, and delightful people. They also have many decades of legislative experience between the two of them, and the country has been blessed by their gifts, their talents, and their willingness to work hard.

I want to respond to a couple of points made a moment ago, one suggesting, perhaps, that the answer to all of this is simply a desire to work together, as if that were somehow not what we have in mind.

We were also told a moment ago that they are almost finished with the appropriations process, that it is almost complete. Now, if that is the case, then I would ask the question, why haven't we been permitted to see it? Why haven't the other Members of the U.S. Senate been able to see that? It is a little bit hard for some of us to hear that if we all work together, we can get this done, when that is literally all we are asking.

I don't think any one of us supporting Senator JOHNSON's legislation is here saying that it is perfect or here saying that it would magically solve every problem in the world or even every problem in the U.S. Senate having to do with the spending process. We are not saying that. But what we are saying is that without it, we will stay stuck in the same closed-loop system.

So to suggest that there is somehow a lack of desire on our part or on the part of anyone who is not an appropriator or anyone who is not the chairman and ranking member of the Appropriations Committee, that this is somehow a product of a lack of desire and willingness to work together, that is not fair. That is not accurate. That is quite

the opposite of the truth. What we are asking for is a seat at the table.

Article V of the Constitution outlines the procedure for amending the Constitution, for making changes to the structure of government that we have, what it may and may not do. Article VI of the Constitution preemptively disposes of any proposed constitutional amendment that would alter the principle of equal representation in the Senate. It is the one rule that cannot be changed. It is so fundamental to our system of government, to this system of government that has helped foster the development of the greatest civilization the world has ever known, that in this Chamber, every State has to be represented equally. That doesn't happen and, indeed, it can't happen when you have some of the most significant measures that will ever come before this body commandeered by one committee, the Committee on Appropriations.

Now, granted, as has been suggested in the last couple of speeches we have heard, we have some great talent among our members on the Appropriations Committee. We have great talent among the staffers on the Appropriations Committee. They work really hard. They are really smart. They are really determined, and they are highly specialized. That isn't the problem. The problem is that in most circumstances, because of the way we bring things up, most of us are completely disenfranchised from the process.

This doesn't mean that it is the fault of the Appropriations Committee. I don't believe that it is. It is, instead, a fault of the way in which we schedule votes and the fact that these things aren't brought up until the last possible minute, and then we are given this awful choice of, vote for a whole bunch of things that you don't necessarily support and can't even completely know about or vote against it and be blamed for a government shutdown.

That is all this bill is trying to do, is to get us out of that toxic loop—a loop that is the opposite of collegial, the opposite of respectful, and that is utterly incompatible with the principle of equal representation in the Senate—a principle that cannot be undone even by a constitutional amendment.

Mr. LEAHY. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LEE. Yes, I will.

Mr. LEAHY. Should we be able to represent our constituents? Of course. He and I agree, and he and I have agreed on a lot of different things, especially constitutional issues, in this body. And I share his concern of suddenly being handed a piece of legislation like this, and we are going to vote on it in 10 minutes or an hour or so.

Would he agree with me that if the leader said that Tuesday of next week—say this was done earlier in the year—Tuesday of next week, we will bring up this part of the appropriations

bill from the committee, the committee having voted on it, Republicans and Democrats—I think it is close to a third of the U.S. Senate that is on that committee—having voted on it, and it will be open to amendments. Then after we finish that one, we will bring up the next one.

Would that cover many of the problems that the Senator from Utah has?

Mr. LEE. In response to the question, the answer is yes. Absolutely yes. That is exactly what we want. That is exactly what we deserve. And this is one of many manifestations of the fact that my friend, my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Vermont, has the benefit of many decades of experience in this body. He has been here at times when the Senate has functioned precisely like that, as it should. That is exactly what we want. That is how the Senate is supposed to function, and that is how it has functioned for most of the existence of our great Republic.

So that in and of itself would not only help address the problem, it would be the solution to the problem. That is why I insist this is not a problem that can be fairly laid at the feet of the individual members of the Appropriations Committee or even necessarily the chairman and ranking member of the Appropriations Committee. It is a problem with the way we schedule votes, and it is also a problem related to the first, with a lack of willingness to allow amendments to be brought.

The filibuster is itself maligned and often misunderstood, but the purpose of a filibuster from the very origins of this institution was to allow for theoretically unlimited debate, discussion, and opportunities for amendments to legislation. Nowhere would that be more important than in the case of where we are spending the public's money. That is what we are supposed to be doing. That is how it always did work in the past. The very reason why we have the filibuster rule to begin with is to allow for, to facilitate, to encourage unlimited debate, discussion, and amendments.

So, yes, I wish this legislation weren't necessary, but it is with precisely that objective in mind that we push this legislation. Why? Well, some of us have been here for many years, and in the case of Senator JOHNSON and myself, we have been here now for a decade. We have hoped for that exact type of scenario that Senator LEAHY just described to come about, and I don't doubt Senator LEAHY's sincerity one bit in raising that point. That is exactly what we need.

The incentives aren't there. The incentives on the part of those making these decisions to bring these things up with too little time for debate, amendment, or even reading the bill and discussing it with our constituents—those making that decision have forestalled the kind of debate and discussion that needs to occur. The incentive structure is such that those making that very decision are not going to want to relin-

quish that immense power, particularly if they can be a part of and even control what goes into that bill, who knows about it when, and then virtually guarantee passage on the Senate floor.

Something has to change in order to alter that incentive structure to bring about exactly the kind of dynamic Senator LEAHY has described. Look, we can do this. It is not that hard. But we are going to have to adopt some changes to our procedures, and ultimately we owe it to our constituents not to bend unflinchingly and reflexively every single time somebody brings forward a spending bill at the very last minute.

I remember one of many moments in which this has occurred arose in March of 2018. We had been anticipating for many months a spending bill. We had a lot of conversations among and between Members about the need to debate, discuss, and amend spending legislation before it was brought to the floor. We had been assured that we would have more of an opportunity than we had in previous Congresses.

Then one Wednesday evening in March of 2018, we received an email. The email arrived at I believe about 8:30 or 8:45 in the evening. It told us that attached is a copy of a spending bill. We will be voting on this sometime in the Senate. We weren't told when. I opened the attachment. The attachment contained a 2,232-page spending bill spending well over \$1 trillion.

We immediately started reviewing that. I divided up that legislation by section among my staff and then spent the entire night and the entire following day reviewing that legislation. We got a basic understanding of what it did but only rudimentary. A 2,232-page omnibus spending bill does not exactly read like a fast-paced novel.

To my great astonishment, before we were even finished reading that bill, much less before we had the opportunity to even conceive of or draft amendments, much less propose them, the House of Representatives passed that bill without amendment before lunch the next day. The Senate passed the same legislation about 12 or 13 hours later.

This process has repeated itself over and over again. We can't fool ourselves into believing that it is going to change without some alteration to procedure and to the set of incentives that perpetuate that vicious cycle—one that is no respecter of persons, no respecter of Republicans versus Democrats, liberals versus conservatives, or even Senators versus Representatives. It is just a fundamentally anti-American and undemocratic way of doing things. We can do better, and we must.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I want to talk today for a few minutes about something that I don't think has gotten the attention it deserves, and that is the many successes in foreign policy over the last 4 years.

I think at the top of my list of foreign policy successes in terms of unanticipated accomplishments that we would not have thought would happen would be the Abraham accords that were signed at the White House in September. This agreement paves the way for normalized relations between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Israel and Bahrain and I believe really establishes a way where the rest of the Middle East could hopefully follow this step in the right direction. I think not only is this one of the most significant moves in decades to promote peace and understanding in the Middle East, but, frankly, it probably wouldn't have happened if we hadn't had a President who hadn't spent years hearing how something like this was impossible. The President believed it was possible, and it was because of his strong leadership that the countries involved made it a priority to bridge the gap that everyone thought was unbridgeable, that really had separated these neighbors for generations.

What we see when we look at this and other events in recent times is that when our friends become friends with each other, we win. The United States wins when our friends also become friends with each other.

This agreement can be a model for future progress in the region. It is the first time in four decades that any Arab country has recognized Israel, and you can see it is already making a difference. We had debate on the floor yesterday about our continued partnership—our defense partnership—with the United Arab Emirates, and this was, obviously, an element in that debate. That partnership, over three different administrations, produced something that nobody would have anticipated in any of the earlier decades.

The President started his Middle East efforts by acknowledging Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in his first year in office. A few months later, he moved the U.S. Embassy there. Now, was this a new idea? Absolutely not a new idea. American Presidents have been saying for years that this was a good idea. Party platforms have said for years that Israel should be able to have their capital in Jerusalem acknowledged, but nobody had done it before. Congress had said repeatedly this should happen, but it hadn't happened and didn't happen until the Trump administration decided to make it happen.

Critics actually said that moving our embassy would hurt our credibility in the region, and, 3 years later, the Abraham accords proved that that was 100 percent wrong.

Another reason American credibility has soared in the Middle East is that President Trump took a strong stance against Iran. He did that by dealing with the nuclear agreement that President Obama and the Obama administration had struck with Iran as a bad idea. It was an idea that actually allowed Iran to eventually get a nuclear

weapon and reduced sanctions on the country's leaders as they continued to sponsor terrorism around the world. In fact, he even returned substantial amounts of money that we now know went, in large part, into terror-building network efforts.

The agreement was badly handled from the start. It didn't work after we entered into it. We didn't enter into it in any kind of binding way because it was clear, at the time, that if this agreement would have been presented as a treaty, it had no chance of being approved by the Senate.

So it was entered into, thinking: This is such a great idea that the next President will just have to do it, whether the country is bound to it or not.

The hard work of doing our work the right way makes a difference, and, in fact, that agreement would have been changed before a Senate would have considered ever approving it. But it would have been either approved or not approved rather than the process we went through, which was a lot of Senate opposition but no response to that opposition.

President Trump put a spotlight on the deal's failure to protect our national security. He took a strong new approach to applying maximum pressure on the Iranian regime, and it has had impact. Eventually, that new view led to eliminating Qasem Soleimani, who was clearly the architect of Iran's terrorist activities and the attacks on Americans. There has been no doubt about that for a long time. Iran was the No. 1 state sponsor of terrorism. General Soleimani was the No. 1 architect of that state sponsorship of terrorism, and the President was willing to do what needed to be done there. The world is a safer place with him gone. Iran knows that we will not turn a blind eye on aggression or on false promises or, often, even on things being said that, on the face of them, are clearly not true and the world community is expected to agree with them, and, frankly, in the case of Iran, often decides that the best course is to agree to the things that you know are not true which are presented as if they are true and accepted as if they are true. This doesn't get you where you want. Accommodating or rewarding our enemies doesn't advance peace in the Middle East or anywhere else. Supporting our allies and building stronger alliances and holding terrorists accountable does.

Stronger alliances are also a goal of the Trump administration's new focus on the Indo-Pacific region. The President recognized that China is the greatest threat to democracy and freedom in the world. He understands that America cannot counter that threat alone, and because of that, has reached out in meaningful ways. While other administrations have said they would pivot to the Pacific, the Trump administration actually oversaw a period of renewed engagement in the area and

renewed branding of the area that indicated that the Indo-Pacific is now that command and the Indo-Pacific is now that focus. We have strengthened our alliances with India and with Australia and other countries in the region. We began working to foster a multilateral community—one that will protect the free and open nature of the region from the threat of China.

I was just reading in the news today that China clearly is sending a message in Hong Kong: If you don't want to be in jail and you are for Hong Kong freedom, you just need to leave right now. And, apparently, they are willing to help you get to where your thoughts don't impact others who are willing to live under—and, maybe, have no choice but to live under—the repression of China.

The President also took action to strengthen global security and stability by asking our allies to pull their weight. For too many years, other countries seemed content to let American taxpayers bear the cost of defending freedom everywhere in the world. President Trump challenged the other members of NATO to meet the organization's guideline of spending 2 percent of their gross domestic product on defense. Our allies stepped up in many cases and did better than they had been doing.

In 2016, just 4 of the 28 countries in NATO met the 2 percent guideline—4 out of 28. Today, that number is still not at 28, but it is at 10 countries that now exceed the guideline. Remember, four countries met the guideline 3 years and 10 months ago. Ten countries have now exceeded the guideline, and every country in the alliance with a military has increased its defense spending.

That is important progress, and it wouldn't have happened if the President of the United States had not been willing to say the obvious, and, frankly, be very direct about it and make himself an uncomfortable partner at the negotiating table. But if what you are uncomfortable about is that you are willing to say, "Do what you have agreed to do," it is about time somebody not only said, "Do what you have agreed to do," but said it in a way that other countries took it seriously.

The President sought to address imbalances and protect U.S. interests in the area of global trade. The Trump administration replaced the NAFTA agreement with a new trade deal with Mexico and Canada. NAFTA was great for all three countries, but it needed to be improved. It needed to be updated, and now it has been.

In my State, Missouri, those two countries are our two biggest trading partners, and that is the case for the United States. Mexico and then Canada dwarf trade with almost every other country in the world as they trade with the United States, and the new agreement will lead to more jobs and bigger paychecks in all three countries. Our goal in our neighborhood should be not

just to make ourselves stronger but to make our neighbors stronger, because we are stronger when our neighbors are stronger.

Nationwide, exports are expected to grow by \$2.2 billion under the USMCA. And our trade relationship with Japan, the world's third largest economy, is even stronger, thanks to a new agreement that went into effect at the start of the year.

So it is clear that there has been lots of activity in America's foreign policy over the past 4 years. There has been a lot of important progress and a lot of success stories, and an awful lot of it was done in a very unconventional way. So, frankly, it just doesn't get covered by the traditional trade press or the traditional foreign policy press or the traditional defense press in ways that really the results should produce.

These are not areas that get the attention that they deserve. I think, when people look back at the 4 years that we have just completed in foreign policy, they are going to look at what has happened, understand it in the context of what was happening, and I am sure they will believe that these items I talked about today led to a stronger and safer country as we approach the years ahead of us.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLUNT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the remarks of the next speaker, I may be recognized for such time as I may consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Utah.

TRIBUTE TO ROB BISHOP

Mr. ROMNEY. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate the career of a remarkable public servant whose accomplishments have left an indelible mark upon our State and upon our country. Congressman ROB BISHOP has earned his place among the greats in Utah's political history, and we thank him for his service.

ROB has dedicated his political career to fighting the tough battles over issues that matter to the people of my State, from the virtue of federalism, States' rights, and protecting individual liberty, to promoting a strong national defense and sound public lands policy. And fight he did.

Four years ago, Puerto Rico was fast approaching a fiscal cliff when ROB, as chairman of the House Natural Resources Committee, led a successful, bipartisan effort to pass a complicated rescue package to restructure Puerto Rico's debt before it was too late.

While ROB will never rush to take credit or seek the spotlight, his legislative achievements are enduring and deserve our full praise and recognition.

His accomplishments manifest closer to home as well. The brave men and women of our military and civilian workforce at Hill Air Force Base know ROB as a tremendous advocate and a devoted friend. Through the War on Terror, improvements and changes in aircraft, and updates to our nuclear arsenal, ROB has defended our Hill Air Force Base valiantly. At Dugway Proving Ground in Tooele, his commitment delivered the completion of an emergency aircraft runway.

ROB's impressive efforts and steady leadership have raised Utah's profile for our national defense. So, too, has his advocacy for the Utah Test and Training Range, so it makes sense that this key to our Nation's military readiness should bear his name. Next Congress, I intend to introduce a bill to rename it the "Bishop Utah Test and Training Range."

Rare is a man with such professional distinction, intellect, and personal conviction for the well-being of family, neighbors, and strangers alike, who carries himself with such humility as ROB. If you have had the pleasure of being with ROB at a gathering, you know where to find him at the end of the night—staying behind to help gather the chairs.

Most of all, ROB is a teacher. From his time as a public school teacher to his career in public service, one of his highest priorities has been ensuring that the next generation of young leaders has access to educational opportunities, not only by securing revenue for public school as an elected official but also by devoting his time to host students in the Capitol to teach them about politics, policy, and our government.

It is an honor to recognize my friend ROB BISHOP as he begins his next chapter with his wife Jeralynn and their five children and nine grandchildren. For anyone who has not had the great pleasure of meeting ROB, you will likely easily recognize him on the street as maybe the last man in Washington who wears an impeccable three-piece suit.

Thank you, ROB, and good luck.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

WESTERN SAHARA

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I have already asked unanimous consent that I be recognized for such time as I may consume.

This is what I want to do. Something happened today that is deeply troubling to me, and I have a written response to what happened today. I am going to go ahead and read that written response. Then, I want to talk about it.

My written response is—and I will take it so everybody will have the benefit of this. I am talking about people here in this country, people in Africa, people all around the world who are interested in this issue.

OK, this is the written response:

I think that all countries should recognize Israel, and applaud the president's unprecedented efforts to foster recognition between Israel and Arab nations through the Abraham Accords.

Today's White House announcement alleging Morocco's sovereignty over Western Sahara is shocking and deeply disappointing. I am saddened that the rights of the Western Saharan people have been traded away.

In 1966, as West Africa was being decolonized, the UN General Assembly agreed—

This is 1966—agreed the Sahara deserves a referendum of self-determination for its own future.

The United States has supported this policy for decades and has worked to accomplish a referendum of self-determination. Until today, this Administration had continued our long history, one that has remained consistent across administrations—

Democrat and Republican—

We're not alone in this position: the African Union, the United Nations, the International Court of Justice and the European Union have all agreed—the Sahrawi people have the right to decide [what] their own future [is going to be].

The president has been poorly advised by his team; he could have made this deal without trading [away] the rights of a voiceless people.

During my most recent visit to the Sahrawi refugee camps, I visited with the children that live there. They were joyous, happy, ordinary children who didn't know yet that they were part of a frozen, forgotten conflict where their hopes and freedoms were dying a cruel death.

I'm thinking about them and all the Sahrawians today. I won't stop fighting for them. I won't let the world forget them.

Today's announcement does not change the United Nations or the EU positions, nor the charter of the African Union nor the opinion of the [International Court of Justice]—a referendum must still happen.

I urge these organizations to stand strong to support Western Sahara's right to self-determination and am confident the [United States] will be able to return to the policy we've held since 1966.

Let me tell you what this is all about. During the colonization period in Africa, when different countries had colonies there, Spain had the colony of the land that is in question today. It was called the Spanish Sahara area at that time.

Now, if you remember your history, Franco was President at that time, and this was back when things were falling apart for Spain. Franco was losing a lot of the control, and they were not in a position to hold onto their colonies—not just in Africa but anywhere else in the world.

So at that time, the U.N. came in, in 1966. This goes all the way back to 1966. The U.N. asked for a referendum for self-determination for those people. So they recognized all the way back—that is, the United Nations recognized—the sovereignty of the Western Saharan people. That has been consistent since then.

That was 1966. Now, in 1975, when there were a lot of people kind of lining up to see who could get control, Morocco jumped in with all of their resources and did all they could at that

time to capture that area and to absorb that within Morocco—in other words, to take away from the free people of Western Sahara their land. And they did that.

So the International Court of Justice went on to say: Well, if the United Nations couldn't do it, let's at least give them the right for a referendum for self-determination. That was 1975. Immediately after that, Morocco invaded Western Sahara.

Now, you have to keep in mind that this is Morocco, with all of the resources and all the wealth that they had, taking on a country that was armed with crude instruments. These are the people who rightfully owned and have lived in Western Sahara.

Western Sahara, if you look—if I had time, if I had known about this, I would have brought the charts down to show where this land was and where it is today.

But, in 1975, the International Court of Justice made it very clear that they had the right to the territory—that Morocco had no right to the territory of Western Sahara. Now, they invaded Western Sahara. Spain and France were complicit at that time. Spain had already colonized that area, and France had desires to do that.

But today—today, as we speak today—there is not a country out there that recognizes the right of Morocco over Western Sahara—until today, when this statement came out that we are trying to recognize those rights.

Nobody—now, I am talking about what I have already listed, all of the people: the African Union, the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the European Union—all of them—they recognize Sahrawi as the people who have the right to decide their own future. Everyone is in agreement.

I can remember talking, at one time, to Netanyahu over in Israel and explaining to them why Morocco should not be able to trade and somehow get control of land that they are not entitled to in order just to say: We recognize Israel.

Yes, we want all Arab nations to recognize Israel, and this is something this President has done. But this is the area that involves not just two countries, Morocco and Israel. It is all of the countries in Africa, virtually everybody in East and West Africa and all the surrounding area. They all agree that that is the territory of Western Sahara and that they should have a referendum of self-determination.

We all have agreed with that for years. We are talking about back to 1966. Everyone is in agreement that they are the ones who are entitled to that.

So in 1991 they had a ceasefire, and a mission began to provide a referendum for self-determination. That was the United Nations and virtually everybody else. Everyone was in agreement on that. Certainly, it was initiated

from the United Nations, and that was to have a ceasefire in 1991, by the U.N., and work toward a self-determination.

Then, in 2004, the United States and Morocco signed a free-trade agreement. Now, this is kind of interesting, because this is a joint effort between our country, the United States, and Morocco for a free-trade agreement. In that free-trade agreement, they agreed to explicitly exclude Western Sahara because Morocco does not have sovereignty over it. Now, that was in the agreement in 2004 that was signed by both the United States and Morocco. So they agreed at that time, as everyone else did, that that should be an independent country with the right of self-determination.

Then the African Union came along. So far, you have the United Nations. You have the United States and Morocco in a signed free-trade agreement. But then you also had Morocco, when it joined the AU, signing a document. This is when it came from the African Union. They recognized Western Sahara as its own country. This is the African Union.

Now, we are talking about 52 nations in the African Union that all agree on this. No one is in disagreement on this.

And then Morocco, when it joined the AU, signed a document. When they joined the African Union—we are talking about Morocco now, up on the northeast edge of that territory. When they joined the AU, or the African Union, they signed a document acknowledging all member states and their borders; that is, acknowledging the Western Sahara area as not a part of Morocco. Now, this is Morocco agreeing to this.

So you have the United Nations in 1991. You have the United States and Morocco in the free-trade agreement in 2004. You have an agreement explicitly stating where the lines should be. Then you have the African Union coming along and recognizing. This is all of the countries, 52 nations in the African Union. So we have all of them in agreement with this.

South Africa is the present chair of the AU, and one of their priorities is to resolve the Western Sahara issue.

Now, all of that happened prior to today. And, as I say in my written statement, I really believe—I know our President has a big heart. I have argued for him and to benefit him. The various times that we have had conflicts out there—and one of them was when they came out with a statement that they were going to immediately—this was a couple of years ago—move the people out of Germany and move them back to the United States; that that was going to be done before the end of the year. And I made the public statement. That was not the President talking. That was a policy that came out of the White House, and I seriously doubted that he even knew about it and certainly would not agree with it.

If there is one thing the President is compassionate about, it is the families.

You can't just uproot the families who were stationed in Germany and move them back to the United States—kids in school and all these things. He is a compassionate person. He is the first one in line to take care of our troops every time there is a problem.

This is the same situation. In this case, he is not the type of person that would bag the freedom-loving people of Western Sahara to Morocco.

So that is what happened. This is an old issue. It dates back to 1966. I can remember—and this is highly unusual—as a Member of the U.S. Senate, there was a hearing in the House—this is about maybe 5 or 6 years ago—and I served. I asked to be a witness in that hearing.

The hearing was about Western Sahara and Morocco. Now, keep in mind that Morocco is a very wealthy country. Virtually every lobbyist in Washington is paid by them. At that time, I could remember standing there in that hearing, in the House of Representatives, and listening to all the lobbyists that they had hired against a country that didn't have any money.

They don't have, really, any formal armaments. They are heroic people. They are fighters. They want to continue to fight for their freedom, but they don't have the resources.

So this is way back then, and I pointed out that Morocco has used all of their wealth to try to get the land that justly belongs to Western Saharan people. So that is not anything new. That has been happening for a long time.

At that time, I remember I took the transcript at that time—I think it was 6 or 7 years ago—in that hearing. I said that Morocco owns every lobbyist in Washington, DC, and it is kind of the giant out there against this small group of people who are being thrown out of their land that they justly own.

It is self-determination. Who can fight and argue against self-determination? Certainly, our President is not the type of person who would fight against self-determination. He would be for self-determination. That is the kind of person he is. That is why this thing—I just think it is some poor advice from some advisers that threw in that thing.

As I said in my formal statement, he could have done that with them without giving away the rights and the land of the Western Saharan people.

So I just want to make sure that everyone knows that this is—I strongly support everything that this President has successfully been doing in bringing the Arab world into the Israeli world and doing something for peace in the Middle East.

Everybody else has tried. Every Democrat and Republican President I can think of, in memory, has tried to do this and has not been successful, until this President did it.

It is just, in this case, I don't think it was necessary to give away—to stand up the people, the just people in an area where they don't have any resources. They have been living in the

desert. Three generations now have come and gone, and all of them know that at one time there was peace and that they owned their land and that day would come that they would get their land back. That hasn't happened yet.

I think with this mistake that was made, it is certainly not in the interest of all of our friends. I say that without any exceptions. They are all on our side on this thing. Our policy has been clear since 1966, and we have been committed.

Some time ago, 1994, I came from the House to the Senate, and I had a long visit at that time with Jim Baker, who had been the Secretary of State in the previous administrations. I called him up, and I said: You know, this is such a huge injustice, what has happened, what Morocco has done to these people of Western Sahara.

He said: You are right, and we have done everything.

I said: We have got to change that, and I am going to make that commitment.

This was back in 1994.

He said: Well, I admire you for doing it. I will do all I can to cooperate with you.

This is Jim Baker talking.

He said: I don't think you will be able to do it because they have too many resources, too much money, and the Western Saharan people don't have any money. They don't have any resources. And they are the ones who have been abused in this.

He said: Good luck. I will do everything I can to help you.

That was back when Jim Baker was Secretary of State. That was a long time ago. Since that time, every administration—and not just Republican administrations but Democratic administrations—have all been lined up saying: This is a sense of fairness. It is something that has to be corrected. We can't allow that giant to take over the righteous people.

And that is what has happened. So it is not over yet. I can assure you that I will make every effort I can to make sure that we go back to the policy that we had and that ultimately we will achieve. Maybe this will be just the thing. This shock treatment for the American people and for people around the world might be just the thing that is going to offer them an opportunity for a referendum for self-determination. Who can be against a referendum for self-determination? Certainly no Americans whom I know of.

With that, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRAUN). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

#### TRIBUTE TO SHARON PIERCE

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I rise today to commend an outstanding Hoosier whose work in Indiana's child and

family welfare system has touched countless lives, including my own. Sharon Pierce, president and CEO of The Villages—a nonprofit child and family services agency—will soon be retiring after a distinguished 47-year career of serving our children and our families.

Sharon also happens to be my aunt, and I have seen firsthand her love and dedication to Indiana's children. Her call to service started early in life. When she was young, Sharon's mother volunteered at a youth home in Fort Wayne. She and her siblings would help her mother with holiday parties. It was there that she first learned how important the family is to a child.

A graduate of Ball State University, Sharon's entire career since then has been dedicated to public service. Prior to her work at The Villages, she worked for several youth advocacy programs in Illinois. She also served as a deputy director at the Indiana Division of Family and Children—the forerunner of today's Indiana Department of Child Services. While at the Division of Family and Children, she helped create a 1-800 number to report suspected child abuse. She also established the Healthy Families Initiative, which still today provides resources to at-risk, first-time parents to help prevent abuse and neglect.

In 1992, she became the president and CEO of The Villages, where she has created a culture of compassion and a deep commitment to supporting families in need. At The Villages, children are enrolled in family and child support services, with the goal of helping to keep family members together. The Villages also provides foster care and offers support for relatives and family friends who are helping to raise a child, including education and child abuse prevention services.

Sharon has said: "Even though The Villages is probably best known for high-quality foster care, the reality is we want to do anything we can to keep families together."

"Anything we can to keep families together"—it is hard to imagine a mission more critical than this.

I am not the only one to offer my praise for Sharon Pierce. Indiana's Governor, Eric Holcomb, said the following:

Sharon's saintly efforts over the decades touched the lives of countless Hoosier children. She taught, inspired, led so many others over the years to invest in those who need it the most.

Indiana Department of Child Services Director Terry Stigdon said:

She exudes compassion and caring. . . . It's just innate to her being.

Sharon has dedicated her professional life to ensuring children have a bright future, regardless of their circumstances. Her work has inspired countless others, including me, and the policies I choose to focus on here in the Senate.

I know my Aunt Sharon is looking forward to spending more time with

her husband—my Uncle Steve—their four children, and now their seven grandchildren. She has more than earned this next chapter in her life. But as a point of personal privilege and on behalf of the people of Indiana, I offer my heartfelt thanks for her decades of service, and I wish her very well in this next chapter.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

#### CORONAVIRUS

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, I have to tell you, every day, I am hearing from Tennesseans who are asking what we are going to do about COVID relief. It is coming up in nearly every conversation that I have—with our county mayors, with citizens, with employers and employees; conversations with those who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own. Why can't we get something done?

The phones really started ringing last week when Speaker PELOSI, the Speaker of the House, accidentally revealed that it was politics and not principle that convinced her to spend months—months—standing between the American people and targeted relief that they are asking for and that they desperately need. It was politics—all politics to her. People were pawns that she was moving around, trying to get her way.

It is disgusting. It is a tragedy. But I will tell you this: It is nothing new. In fact, since July, Democrats have continuously blocked efforts to provide targeted relief. The minority leader obstructed these efforts in the hopes of passing a \$3 trillion bill. That is right, trillion—\$3 trillion bill. It was filed to the brim with partisan proposals that had nothing to do with the pandemic and a bailout for fiscally irresponsible States and cities.

Tennesseans are very much opposed to having their hard-earned dollars that are tax dollars that come to the Federal Government used to bail out States that have chosen not to be fiscally responsible. They say: Above all else, do not bail out these States, these cities, these pension funds.

Let's be clear to the American people. It is the Speaker of the House and the minority leader who are holding noncontroversial relief—they are holding it hostage. There should be another round of PPP. There should be another increase, a plus-up, of unemployment. There should be more money for vaccines, testing, and getting children back to school. But, oh, no. For months, what did they want to do? Play politics. Play politics with people's lives. If that isn't the most tone-deaf thing that I have ever heard, I don't know what is. Perhaps some of my friends across the aisle should check their mail and make certain that their office phones are being answered. People are quite upset with them.

It doesn't stop there. I wish it did. It only gets worse. In the fall, the Democrats filibustered targeted relief proposals not once but twice and rejected



a much needed extension of the Paycheck Protection Program almost as soon as it was proposed. This month, more of the same. Their refusal to negotiate in good faith has made it abundantly clear to the business owners, the healthcare providers, and millions of other struggling Americans that partisan grandstanding is more of a priority for Democrats than doing their jobs.

The American people are not pawns, and it is time my colleagues in the minority stopped treating them as such. The House Speaker and Senate Democrats might have all the time in the world to stall. Maybe they are pretty comfortable with where they are. But outside of this Chamber, for a lot of our families and small businesses that are struggling, it is the eleventh hour. Now is not the moment to strong-arm the U.S. Senate into rubberstamping a radical liberal wish list. It is time to step up and deliver relief—targeted relief, relief we all agree will mean the difference between survival for many of these small businesses and economic collapse; money and support for vaccines; another full round of PPP funding for the businesses that need it most; and support for our frontline heroes and essential workers.

This bullet list of absolute essentials must also include reasonable, responsible liability protections for small businesses and healthcare workers. These protections are the flip side of relief funding. Without them, we take these business owners and workers out of one bad situation and put them right into another one. Without them, we effectively force entire industries to choose between economic survival or, in the case of healthcare workers, literal survival and death by opportunistic lawsuits. We can't allow this to happen.

One of the things that I have noticed this past year is how critical it is for us to be able to articulate problems and lay the foundation to address them before an emergency strikes.

In Tennessee, as in many other States, the number of people who live in rural and remote areas poses challenges when it comes to providing a variety of services that we all consider essential, chiefly among them, healthcare delivery and access to high-speed internet. I have worked with healthcare practitioners and advocates to cut a path forward for the widespread use of telemedicine.

Last year, I introduced the Rural Health Agenda to increase access to healthcare for the 60 million Americans who live in rural areas. A crucial component of that legislative package was a set of provisions that lifted unnecessary regulatory barriers standing in the way of access to telemedicine. As always, it is the redtape that slows up progress. The pandemic only highlighted the importance of opening up contact-free access to healthcare.

Fortunately, in March, after a lot of meetings with the White House and

Medicare and Medicaid Services Administrator Seema Verma, we were able to roll back a particularly frustrating regulation preventing the use of telemedicine by Medicare enrollees.

Provisions I supported as part of the CARES Act further expanded access to telemedicine by removing even more of that redtape and providing funding for reimbursement to frontline healthcare providers.

Of course, access to telehealth and access to high-speed internet go hand in hand. You can't really have one without the other.

This week, I learned that the FCC, as a result of the recent Rural Digital Opportunity Fund auction, has now made some great steps, and Tennessee is going to receive about \$150 million to help close the digital divide over the next decade. These new connections will be a game changer for rural and underserved communities. Not only will they open up access to telehealth, distance learning, and remote work opportunities, they will open up the local economy and encourage growth and outside investment because these dollars are targeted to unserved areas.

This award, coupled with CARES Act funding put to work earlier this year, will help us build on our prepandemic work on behalf of rural and unserved Americans.

The Internet Exchange Act, a bipartisan bill I sponsored to provide grant funding for broadband infrastructure, recently reported out of our Commerce Committee.

The pieces are, indeed, falling into place, and, hopefully, we can keep the momentum going and finally get this job done: closing the digital divide, providing everyone with access to high-speed internet and allowing communities that have been cut off from economic development, from telehealth, from remote learning to enhanced law enforcement—allowing them to benefit.

It is not just a matter of connectivity or convenience. It is an investment in a better quality of life for all Americans who call the rural parts of this country home.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO KEVIN RYAN

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, for those of us who have the privilege of working in the U.S. Senate, it allows us the opportunity to meet wonderful people who care about their country, who go to work every day and make sure that the country is safe and secure.

One of those individuals, whom I met over the last year—met a year ago and now has worked in my office—is Army

LTC Kevin Ryan. He is a member of my staff as an Army fellow participating in the U.S. Army Congressional Fellowship Program.

I want to take a moment to recognize LTC Kevin Ryan's contribution, certainly, to my office, to my capabilities of representing Kansas in the U.S. Senate, but his commitment to the country as well.

Before he departs my office to return to the big Army at the start of the new year, I want to express my appreciation to Colonel Ryan for all of his hard work and his dedication and his service to our country.

Kevin's 14 years of service in the U.S. Army have developed his leadership abilities and shaped his perspective on major defense issues of national significance. These assets and attributes have made him an invaluable asset for our team as we work to serve Kansans, members of the military, and our veterans.

Before joining our office, Kevin's assignments have taken him around the world in service to our country.

Kevin earned his commission from Norwich University, the Military College of Vermont. He has served four combat tours, two in Afghanistan and two in Iraq, and he has also been deployed to Korea, Germany, and Italy. His most recent deployment took him to Iraq in 2017, where he served as a senior intelligence officer for the brigade that assisted Iraqi security forces in the liberation of Mosul from the Islamic State.

Kevin is lucky to have his wife Lindsey, his daughter Colleen, and son John by his side. He is blessed to have their unwavering support.

Kevin joined our team in January of 2019. From day one, he embraced Kansas, its people, and the challenges they face day in and day out. He is well known for displaying his love of Kansas outwardly, often wearing a Kansas necktie in meetings and on Zoom calls.

He has made it a priority to spend time in our State and learn from Kansans so he can bring their thoughts and ideas back to the Nation's Capital. These personal conversations with Kansans and Kevin's experience in the Army helped drive meaningful policy.

He has led the efforts to recognize the important work of the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion, the only all-African-American, all-female battalion to be deployed overseas during World War II. The Six Triple Eight, as this battalion has come to be known, sorted millions of pieces of backlogged mail so the troops serving on the frontlines could hear from families and loved ones. Their efforts boosted morale and directly contributed to our servicemembers' fighting spirit toward the end of the war. Kevin has been a tireless advocate for these women, and I commend his dedication to this cause.

Though I am sad he will be leaving our office at the end of the month, I know he will serve the Army well next

year in the Army's programs office, where he will be a highly effective ambassador to Congress for the Army.

Kevin is one of the most impressive military officers I have had the honor of knowing. I hold him in the highest regard, personally and professionally. He is a significant asset to our country and to the U.S. Army. Kevin represents the best the Army has to offer, and I know he will continue to benefit the future of our Nation.

There is no group of people I hold in higher regard than those who serve our Nation, and I want to reiterate my gratitude to Kevin and to his family for their dedication and service to our Nation.

Once again, Kevin, thank you for all you have done for Kansans, all you have done for our team as we serve those Kansans. You have been a model of selfless service and leadership. I know you will continue to do great things throughout your Army career and your life of service, wherever that path may lead.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CORONAVIRUS

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, we are currently in the midst of the worst moment of the pandemic up until now.

We have recordbreaking numbers of deaths, of diagnoses of people with COVID-19, of hospitals unable to accommodate even more people.

And in the midst of this pandemic, obviously, we are also in a severe economic meltdown, and there are economists who are telling us that the desperation of working families in this country today, right now, is worse than at any time since the Great Depression.

In Vermont and all over this country, we have workers who have lost their jobs and their income; people who are, by the millions, behind in their rent and are afraid of being evicted, afraid of losing their homes; people who have lost their health insurance, unable to go to a doctor. In the midst of a terrible pandemic, they don't have health insurance, can't go to a doctor when they get sick.

And what we are seeing today is a record number of Americans who are struggling, literally, with hunger, unable to feed their kids. I know in Vermont and all over this country there are lines of automobiles, cars of people—people who had never received governmental help—in line for emergency bags of groceries.

That is what is going on in this country today.

Now, back in March, in the beginning of the pandemic, this Congress came together—Democrats and Republicans

and President Trump came together—and virtually unanimously passed the CARES Act, \$2.2 trillion, which, among many other features, provided a \$600 supplement to unemployment benefits for 4 months and \$1,200 direct payments for every working-class adult in this country, plus \$500 for their children.

And here is the truth: That program, that CARES Program, saved lives, gave dignity to people who were at their wit's end, and saved this economy from further downfall.

Well, today, we are where we are, which is at another terrible moment in this pandemic, and this Congress must act. We cannot leave here to go home to our families for the Christmas holidays while other families throughout this country, by the millions, are wondering how they are going to pay the rent or feed their kids. We cannot do that.

And I am proud to say that Senator HAWLEY from Missouri and I have worked together on a pretty simple amendment that he will be talking about in a second, which says that we must include in any legislation that is passed a direct payment of \$1,200 for adults and \$500 for kids.

We cannot, we must not leave Washington unless we do that. And next week I am going to do everything that I can to make sure that that happens. We cannot, we will not leave Washington unless we make certain that millions of families have the economic assistance that they need.

So we are working on bipartisan legislation, and Senator HAWLEY has done a very, very good job on this, and I am proud to yield the floor to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I am delighted to join with Senator SANDERS in this important legislation.

It is very simple legislation, and this is, to my mind, a very simple proposition. Here is the proposition: that when it comes to COVID relief in the midst of this crisis, working families and working people should be first to get relief, not last. Their interests, their needs should be first on our to-do list, not last.

Now, I have heard some of my colleagues say that there just isn't enough left for working families; that once we take care of our other priorities in COVID relief, there just isn't enough left to give direct assistance to individuals.

I want to respectfully suggest that those priorities are exactly reversed. We should begin with the working people of this country, and that is why the legislation that Senator SANDERS and I are introducing, which I believe every Senator voted for in March—it is simple legislation—\$1,200 for each individual, \$2,400 for a couple, and \$500 for every dependent in the family. It is exactly what this Congress approved overwhelmingly back in March, and it was, indeed, a lifeline. I know it was for Missourians in my State, for working families in my State.

I remember, in the hours and days after Congress passed this in March, fielding call after call after call from friends, from people I didn't know in my State but whom I represent, who called me to say: First of all, is it really true? Are we actually going to be getting this support? And then just to say thank you.

And I said: Don't thank me. Thank you for being the ones who have built this country, the ones who sustain this country, the ones on whom this country depends.

And I will just say also, as a matter of fairness—if the U.S. Government is going to shut down your business, if it is going to tell you to go home for health reasons, if it is going to give you no choice in the matter, I think that there is an obligation to support and help the people who are affected, through no fault of their own. Let's be clear. The millions of Americans who are out of work because of this pandemic, they haven't done anything wrong. The 853,000 Americans who today, the new numbers tell us, filed for unemployment benefits, they are not at fault in this pandemic.

We want to support and stand with working individuals and working families. I want the working people of Missouri to know that they are first on the priority list, and when it comes to COVID relief, we will not leave this town until we have voted—up or down—until we have voted on direct relief for working people in my State, in Senator SANDERS's State, and in every State in this Union.

With that, I thank Senator SANDERS, and I yield back.

Mr. SANDERS. Well, thank you very much, Senator.

And let me just say this: In March, as Senator HAWLEY indicated, we came together, and I had the same experience in Vermont. People in desperation called the office: When can we get the check? We desperately need it. And I suspect it was the same thing in Texas and the same thing in every other State in this country. People are hurting.

We cannot go home unless we address the needs of those people. And the amendment that Senator HAWLEY and I are introducing could not be simpler. It is \$1,200 in direct payment for adults up to a certain limit—the same limit as was in the CARES Act—and \$500 for their children. We have already voted and passed that exact same provision in March, and the situation today is not better. In some respects, it is worse.

So I would hope that we would have bipartisan support for this legislation. Look, it is no great secret, whether you are a Republican, Democrat, or whatever, that people are losing faith in their government. They are hurting; their kids are hurting; their parents are hurting. They look to Washington and they say: Do you know that we exist or are you just worried about your rich friends and your campaign contributors?

In this moment of economic crisis, we have got to do everything that we can to restore faith that this government works for ordinary people. So let us do the right thing. Let us pass this amendment in a bipartisan way. Let us show the working families of America that we understand what they are going through, and we are going to stand with them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—H.R. 2420

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I am glad to be here on the floor of the Senate with my friend Senator BOB MENENDEZ asking that the U.S. Senate advance legislation to establish a National Museum of the American Latino.

As a proud Texan, I am fortunate to have grown up in a State steeped in the contributions of Hispanics and Latinos. Approximately 40 percent of our population is composed of Latinos in Texas, but they are not monolithic by any stretch of the imagination, which is why we need a museum to tell their stories.

There are the Tejanos, whose roots in the Lone Star State predate our statehood or even Texas independence, as well as those who have emigrated from other States or countries and have chosen to call Texas home more recently.

From the brave soldiers who fought in the Texas Revolution to the civil rights activists like Cesar Chavez, cultural icons like Selena, and leaders of all types in our communities, generations of Latino Americans have shaped our country as it is today. But, as I suggested a moment ago, many Americans simply aren't aware of the vast contributions made by these men and women who have come before us, and one critical way we can right this wrong is by providing a home for their stories in the Nation's Capital.

I have heard somebody suggest that we don't need a separate museum for different racial groups and ethnic groups or the like, but this is far more important than that because the story of American Latinos is the story of America itself. Many people simply aren't familiar with the vast contributions they have made.

This particular effort has been underway for more than 25 years. Nothing happens very quickly, particularly when it comes to establishing a new museum like this, but we are just two steps away, and I hope the Senate can take one big step this afternoon by passing this bipartisan legislation and sending it to the President's desk for his signature.

I know there are some of our colleagues who have concerns about the museum's location, and I can assure them that Congress will have a voice in the site of this museum. But before construction can begin, congressional committees will be consulted on site selection as laid out in the bill and I believe the colloquy that will be made a part of this record.

The Smithsonian Board of Regents, which will select the site, is chaired by the Supreme Court Chief Justice and comprises multiple Members of Congress, including three sitting Senators and the Vice President. The Congress will also need to appropriate funds to supplement the private fundraising that will help finance this museum. The appropriation requirement will be a de facto ratification or rejection of the site selected by the Smithsonian Board of Regents. So there is going to be a lot of input in that decision. We are not making that decision here today. And I believe there need to be open lines of communication between Members of Congress and the Smithsonian Board of Regents as they undertake this significant project.

It has been estimated that if we pass this bill today, the doors to a new museum will not open for at least a decade, so I am eager to get the process moving.

The National Museum of the American Latino will honor and preserve the stories of Latinos throughout American history so generations can view a more accurate and more complete history of the contributions made by these great Americans, and I hope the Senate will advance this critical legislation today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I have come to the floor today and will shortly ask for unanimous consent on H.R. 2420, the National Museum for the American Latino Act.

Let me just thank my colleague, the senior Senator from Texas, Mr. CORNYN, who has been a great partner throughout this entire process, a strong advocate who helped us navigate some of the challenges we have had along the way. I am also thrilled to be on the floor with Senator COLLINS, who will shortly make a motion on the Women's History Museum, which I strongly support, and I appreciate her support for the American Latino Museum.

Today the Senate stands at the precipice of history. We have before us an opportunity to set in motion a process that will eventually culminate in the establishment of a national museum devoted to the history, struggles, and achievements of Latinos and Latinas in the United States. This is long overdue.

Some colleagues say: Well, why do we need another museum? Well, it was in 1994 when the Smithsonian Task Force on Latino Issues published its report entitled "Willful Neglect"—a report acknowledging the Institution's own glaring omission of Hispanic history and culture.

This is what the report found:

The Smithsonian Institution, the largest museum complex in the world, displays a pattern of willful neglect towards . . . Latinos in the United States. Because of both indigenous roots and Spanish heritage, Latinos predate the British in the [United

States]. They have contributed significantly to every phase and aspect of American history and culture. Yet the institution almost entirely excludes and ignores Latinos in nearly every aspect of its operations.

Latinos are absent from positions of power and authority within the institution, which helps to perpetuate the exclusion of Latino history and culture from the museum's collections, exhibitions, and programs.

The report also acknowledges how the Smithsonian's exclusion of Latinos and Latinas has not only harmed Hispanic Americans but all Americans.

The report says:

The failure of the Smithsonian to reflect and represent Hispanic contributions is twice damaging. It denies Latinos their right to feel recognized and valued as part of the country's heritage. At the same time, it perpetuates among the general population the inaccurate belief that Latinos have contributed little to our country's development or culture, rather than reflecting the multicultural history . . . of the United States.

Without treading into politics, I think it is important we acknowledge that this misconception is alive and well today. In recent years, we have heard Hispanic Americans, immigrants, and their families used as scapegoats for every economic ill facing our Nation. We have witnessed the rise of nativism and xenophobia. We have seen these hateful statements propel acts of horrific violence like the tragic El Paso shooting.

But we Latinos and Latinas are not invaders. We have been here from the beginning. The oldest city in America, well before Pilgrims and Jamestown, is St. Augustine, FL, over 500 years ago founded by a gentleman named Pedro Aviles de Menendez. And our stories must be told.

Who here does not emerge from the Smithsonian Museum of American History more informed about the many movements that have shaped our country? Who does not emerge from the Museum of the American Indian more aware of Native American history and more appreciative of their cultures? Who does not emerge from the Museum of African American History inspired by the perseverance and the power of our Black community? We all do. The Smithsonian Institution is truly a national treasure.

But I am not White or Black or Native American. I am Latino. I am one in five Americans today. My grandchildren are one in four schoolchildren today. But when we walk through the National Mall—or should I say when anyone walks through the National Mall, no one is inspired by the story of Latinos and Latinas in this country because that story is not being told.

Walk outside these halls and ask someone who Bernardo de Galvez was, the former Governor of Louisiana before Louisiana was a State, who led an all-Spanish division against the British as they were approaching Washington and helped in the Revolutionary War? The Congress gave him U.S. citizenship. His portrait was supposed to be hung in the Congress of the United States, so much was the battle that he

led. His portrait finally hangs in the Senate Foreign Relations room.

Go to Farragut metro station and ask a rider who it was named for. David Farragut, the Spanish captain who led during the Civil War on behalf of the Union.

Visit a school and ask a child where the first settlers to this country hailed from. They won't say St. Augustine, FL.

I guarantee these questions will go unanswered because the history of the American Latino remains unknown.

It has been nearly 30 years since the Smithsonian Task Force on Latino Issues recommended that the Institution immediately begin laying "the groundwork needed to assure the establishment of one or more museums portraying the historical, cultural, and artistic achievements of U.S. Hispanics." Thirty years. For nearly 30 years, those words have echoed on empty ears. My friends, that silence and inaction must end today.

We Hispanics are not a monolithic community. Our families are as diverse as they come. We are Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, Colombian, Spanish, Salvadoran, and more. We are Brown, Black, and White, left and right, and everywhere in between. Some of our ancestors settled here long before the dawn of our Republic; others arrived alongside generations of immigrants around the world searching for freedom and opportunity. Some of us grew up along our southern border in cities and communities born out of blended cultures.

Some of us, myself included, are first-generation Americans. Our parents courageously uprooted their lives and came to this country with no connection at all in order to give their children a brighter future.

Indeed, that story of hard work and boundless optimism is the common thread that runs throughout our Latino community—all 60 million of us living in the United States. And I would argue that story is as American as they come.

So let us ensure that the story is told right here in the Nation's Capital, where it belongs. Let us pass H.R. 2420. Let us ensure that someday in the near future, Latino and Latina children and other children who walk through our National Mall will no longer wonder why the story of their families are missing. I know I cannot wait for the day that I can take my granddaughters to the National Museum of the American Latino.

So it has been a long and winding road for this bill, one which I hope will complete its path today in Congress. This has already been passed by the House of Representatives by voice vote—no opposition. This passed the Rules Committee in a unanimous voice vote.

Now, we have been asked to make some changes to accommodate my colleague, the chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and

while I personally do not believe that these changes are fair to the Latino community or required or necessary for the bill, I am committed to making them to pass this bill and finally moving one step closer to the construction of the museum.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 600, H.R. 2420. I ask unanimous consent that the Murkowski amendment at the desk be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I want to thank my friend and colleague, the Senator from New Jersey, for bringing this issue to the floor today.

Cultural programs may represent and do, in fact, represent a tiny fraction of all Federal spending, but they are magnified many times over by virtue of their symbolic and their substantive impact. Culture is, of course, upstream from politics. It is more important, and it is more deserving of more of our attention.

For that reason, the Smithsonian Institution is more than just another line item in our Federal budget. It is one of the great cultural triumphs of our Republic. From the moment of our founding, the United States has faced an almost unique problem in history. How do we turn our huge Nation's cultural, religious, ethnic, and regional differences from a potential weakness into a real strength? The way our Nation has always achieved this is by creating institutions that unite Americans around shared interests and the mystic chords of collective memory.

The Constitution, the Senate itself, our free enterprise economy, our Armed Forces and public schools, Federalism, localism, the First Amendment, and even March Madness all fit this bill. They have the power to harness our individual and community differences to the common good of the whole Nation.

Now, the Smithsonian Institution does the exact same thing. It winds all the myriad strands of America's triumphant history into one imperfect but heroic story. Americans of every age, race, creed, and background come to Washington from all over the country to visit the Smithsonian museums—Natural History, American History, Air and Space, American Art, the National Zoo. Within the walls of the Smithsonian museum, just like at the National Gallery of Art or the great memorials that dot this city, there is no us and them. There is only us.

So my objection to the creation of a new Smithsonian museum or series of museums based on group identity—what Theodore Roosevelt called "hyphenated Americanism"—is not a mat-

ter of budgetary or legislative technicalities. It is a matter of national unity and cultural inclusion.

Now, we have seen in recent years what happens when we indulge the cultural and identity balkanization of our national community. The so-called critical theory undergirding this movement does not celebrate diversity. It weaponizes diversity. It sharpens all those hyphens into so many knives and daggers. It has turned our college campuses into grievance pageants and loosed Orwellian mobs to cancel anyone daring to express an original thought. Especially at the end of such a fraying, fracturing year, Congress should not splinter one of the national institutional cornerstones of our distinct national identity.

The Smithsonian Institution should not have an exclusive Museum of American Latino History or a Museum of Women's History or a Museum of Americans Men's History or Mormon History or Asian American History or Catholic History. American history is an inclusive story that should unite us—us.

The Senator from New Jersey is absolutely right that the history of American Latinos is a vital part of America's history. So, of course, is the history of American women, who have written more than half of the American story, going all the way back to Plymouth Rock. Their stories are our stories, and they are stories that emphatically should be told by the Smithsonian Institution at the Museum of American History, period. No hyphen.

Now, the Senator from New Jersey is well aware of my stingy views on Federal spending, but if American Latino or American women's history are being underrepresented at the Museum of American History, that is a problem, and that is the problem that we should address here. I will happily work with him or anyone else to correct those problems, even if it means more money, more exhibits, new floors or wings.

I understand what my colleagues are trying to do and why, and I respect what they are trying to do, and I even share their interest in ensuring that these stories are told. But the last thing we need is to further divide an already divided Nation with an array of segregated, separate-but-equal museums for hyphenated identity groups.

At this moment in the history of our diverse Nation, we need our Federal Government and the Smithsonian Institution itself to pull us closer together and not further apart. On that basis, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, 60 million Latinos in this country are watching tonight because this is a much expected moment—Univision, Telemundo, affiliates across the country, national organizations, and others. They have been waiting for this moment, a moment that everybody in the

Congress of the United States agrees to except for one colleague. The House of Representatives passed this on voice. The Rules Committee passed it on voice in a bipartisan manner. And tonight, one colleague stands in the way—one Republican colleague from Utah stands in the way of the hopes and dreams and aspirations of seeing Americans of Latino descent having their dreams fulfilled in being recognized—just being recognized.

Now, the Smithsonian is a collection of museums. Let's be honest with that. Did we need an Air and Space Museum? Do we need a museum of the Native Americans? Did we need an African-American Museum? I would say yes to all of them because they are part of the mosaic. They are brought together under the rubric of the single most significant cultural institution in the Nation, which is the Smithsonian.

I don't know if these arguments were made against the Native Americans. I don't know if these arguments were made against African Americans, but I don't see them as being separate and apart. I see them as part of the collective history mosaic that is coming together under the Smithsonian. More than half of the Nation's population are women. Are we to deny them that their history in our country is not being told? It is not. It is beyond Betsy Ross, who I appreciate very much.

And, talk about funding, this bill requires that 50 percent of all the funding be coming from private sources. So we will fuel the development of programming, as well as the physical structure, as well as the other elements by the community and communities who want to see this become a reality.

It is 30 years of willful neglect. Nobody cared, nobody made any effort, and nobody did anything about it. And in the one chance we have, since this has been a 20-plus year journey to try to make this museum possible, one Republican colleague stands in the way. One Republican colleague stands in the way. It is pretty outrageous. It is pretty outrageous.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. MURKOWSKI). The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Madam President, I want to be clear about something. All racial, ethnic, religious groups in America are worthy of celebration, even to the extent of having their own museums. Indeed, many of them already do—in many instances, institutions and museums that are not part of or funded by the Federal Government in whole or in part. If we had more museums and fewer tweets, America would certainly be better off.

This isn't about whether such museums should exist or not. This is about the Smithsonian Institution, which is itself federally funded. I understand that they also raise a significant portion of their money, but there is a brand that comes along with the Smithsonian Institution and a lot of money that is taken from the Amer-

ican people in the form of tax revenue. So, as a result of that, the Smithsonian Institution has a unique role and responsibility in our culture and as a repository and teller of America's national story.

Now, it is absolutely true that African Americans and American Indians have a unique place in that story in that they were rather uniquely, deliberately, and systemically excluded from it. Unlike many other groups, they were persecuted and they were essentially written out of our national story and even had their own stories virtually erased—not simply by our culture or evolving values, but by that very same government, this same Federal Government.

It is, therefore, uniquely appropriate that the Federal Government provide the funding to recover and tell those communities' specific stories today at dedicated museums in the specific context of having been so long excluded from our national community and our national story.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, I just have to say: We have been systemically excluded. We, who founded the oldest city in America before there was a United States of America; we, who ultimately were used as farm workers and discriminated against in the Bracero program; we, who were discriminated against when we voluntarily joined the Armed Forces of the United States to defend the Nation—we have been systematically excluded, not because this Senator said so but because the Smithsonian itself said so.

And yet we are supposed to entrust the willful neglect that has taken place for more than three decades—taken place longer but acknowledged for three decades. Oh, no, we are somehow not systemically excluded. Believe me, we have been, and the only righteous way to end that exclusion is to pass this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Madam President, if the Smithsonian Institution in its report in 1994 in fact acknowledged that it systematically excluded the stories of any one segment in American society, I struggle to understand why the only response to that has to be a separate, siloed museum. Why not direct them, when telling our national story at the National Museum of American History, to tell that story there. If we have to expand it, we will do that. If we have to add more floor space and more staff and more research, let's do that. But the fact that they have identified their own failure over time doesn't mean that they themselves should then get to decide that we have a separate, siloed museum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Madam President, before I give my remarks, I want to strongly associate myself with the

comments that have been made this evening by my colleagues from Texas and New Jersey—Senator CORNYN and Senator MENENDEZ—in support of a museum to celebrate and commemorate the achievements of Latinos in our country.

I could not help but wonder, as I heard the comments of my colleague from Utah, whether he also tried to block the museum celebrating and telling the history of African Americans, that museum which is so popular on the Mall. I wondered whether he tried to block also the creation of the museum that tells the story of Native Americans.

I am convinced that if this bill, which has just been described by my two colleagues, were brought to a vote on the Senate floor, it would pass, not unanimously, that is clear, but with a very strong vote. And it seems wrong that one Senator can block consideration of a bill that would have overwhelming support by a majority of this body.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 959

So, Madam President, I rise today on behalf of myself and the Senator from California, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, to urge the Senate to take the important step of passing our legislation to establish a long overdue women's history museum in our Nation's Capital.

This is an issue that I have been working on since 2003, when I introduced the first bill to tell the story of more than half of our population, of the contributions of American women to our country in every field: government, business, medicine, law, literature, sports, entertainment, the arts, the military, the family.

Telling the history of American women matters, and a museum recognizing our achievements and experiences has long been a goal of many of the women and men who serve in this Chamber.

Following 18 months of study by an independent, bipartisan commission established by Congress, the Commission unanimously concluded: "America needs and deserves a physical national museum dedicated to showcasing the historical experiences and impact of women in the country." I agree wholeheartedly with the Commission's unanimous conclusion.

This year, we commemorate the 100th anniversary of suffrage for women in this country and the decades-long fight for women's equality at the ballot box. It is extraordinary to me that just 100 years ago, not every woman in this country was allowed to vote in every State. That is not that long ago. That story is one of the stories that needs to be told.

Amid the celebrations of this historic year, I can think of no better way to tell the story of American women to inspire those young girls and young boys who come to Washington to tour all the wonderful museums that are part of the Smithsonian than to create

a museum of American women's history so that they can better understand the contributions of American women to the development of our Nation and its proud history.

As with the legislation that would establish a museum celebrating and commemorating the history of Latino and Latina Americans, this legislation has passed the House by an overwhelming margin. Surely, we ought to be able to take it up and pass it here too.

So, Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 599, S. 959. I ask unanimous consent that the committee-reported amendment be withdrawn, the Murkowski amendment at the desk be agreed to, and the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed, and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEE. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Madam President, I think this is a sad moment. I had hoped that we could proceed with both of these bills and pass them before the end of this year.

Surely, in a year where we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage, this is the time, this is the moment to finally pass the legislation unanimously recommended by an independent commission to establish an American women's history museum in our Nation's Capital. I regret that that will not occur this evening, but we will not give up the fight.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). The Senator from Alaska.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, I would like to follow up on the comments you have just shared with your support for a women's history museum and also to the comments made by the Senator from New Jersey and also the Senator from Texas regarding the American-Latino museum.

I am privileged to serve as the chairman of the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee. As part of that subcommittee, we have oversight of the Smithsonian, and it is an incredibly rewarding part of the job that I have to do with oversight. So I am very well aware of these national treasures, what they contribute to the education, to the dialogue, and to just the motivation that comes when we know and understand more about our own country and about the people who make up this extraordinary mosaic called America and how we recognize and how we celebrate those contributions, how we acknowledge the challenges that women have faced along the way, African Americans or Latinos, as they have truly been extraordinary participants in this American society.

I also recognize that our Smithsonians don't come free. They

don't come cheap, as the Senator from Utah noted. The Smithsonians are funded with significant Federal taxpayer dollars, so we are required to show a level of—exercise with how we move forward. And we have been extraordinarily judicious.

I think, as the Presiding Officer noted in her comments, when the discussion of a women's history museum first came about, it was not just a flash-in-the-pan idea. It was something that had germinated a long period of time. It goes to a commission. There are a series of steps and approvals that they must go through along the way. So the path that we have taken has led us to the point today where there has been a request made to be able to advance both of these significant recognitions to American Latina and American women by way of additional Smithsonian facilities.

I support both of those, just as I have supported our Smithsonians as new ones have come online—the African-American museum most recently—or the renovations that have been underway for a period.

I also recognize that the effort tonight made by both the Presiding Officer, as prime sponsor of the American women's history museum, and incorporating an amendment that I had requested that ensures that as we are looking to sites for these significant facilities, that we are doing so with a level of a cooperation. I don't think anybody wants to be in a situation where the Smithsonian would effectively be able to tell, whether it is the Department of Agriculture or the U.S. Forest Service, we want your building. That is not how the process works.

So the amendments that were incorporated in both of these measures that were before us today, I think, was an important one, I think was a significant one.

Some may have heard that LISA MURKOWSKI was not supporting these museums—far from it. What I wanted to ensure is that we have a good, sound process for where we site these extraordinarily—extraordinarily important facilities.

My hope is that we will resolve this impasse because the contributions, whether they be from women over the decades, the Latina community, Latino community, over the decades and the centuries, that there be facilities that appropriately recognize and celebrate them.

With that, I yield the floor.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

#### TRIBUTE TO LAMAR ALEXANDER

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, when LAMAR ALEXANDER came to the Senate in 2002, he brought with him a wealth of experience and years of service to the State of Tennessee. As a Senator, he has remained a strong advocate for his State and its citizens, and as a col-

league, he has shown a willingness to work across the aisle for the good of his constituents, of the Senate, and of the Nation. Our partnership is one that I will miss when he leaves the Senate.

Throughout his career—as Governor of Tennessee, as president of the University of Tennessee, and as the Secretary of Education for President George H.W. Bush, and as a U.S. Senator—LAMAR has dedicated himself to improving education quality and access for Tennesseans and all Americans alike. He has continued and advanced that work as the chairman of the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. Senator ALEXANDER has a proven record of working across the aisle to develop solutions to our country's most pressing healthcare and education challenge, and we know there are many.

I have had the privilege of working with Senator ALEXANDER for many years on the Appropriations Committee. Senator ALEXANDER has been a trusted partner on the committee, striving to reach bipartisan compromise, which I believe has long been the hallmark of the Appropriations Committee. His work as the current chairman of the Energy and Water Subcommittee has helped make investments in clean and renewable energy initiatives, which in turn have brought about economic development and investment. I have long appreciated the work he has done to support agencies, programs, and initiatives that improve the lives of all Americans.

In a body as divisive as the Senate has come to be in recent times, LAMAR has become more than a fellow Senator; he has become a friend. LAMAR, Honey, and their children and grandchildren deserve all the best that the coming years have in store for them.

#### TRIBUTE TO MIKE ENZI

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, one factor that helps make someone a strong representative of their constituents is the body of experience they bring to their job. MIKE ENZI has spent his life representing his constituents, first as a mayor, then in the Wyoming Senate, and ultimately in the U.S. Senate, a post to which the people of Wyoming have elected and reelected him four times.

While our States are quite different geographically, Wyoming, like Vermont, is State of close-knit communities, and it is easy to see how deeply Senator ENZI cares for his fellow Wyomingites and how firmly he prioritizes his constituents. As a Senator, he has worked to expand resources for vocational and technical education programs nationwide, and he has worked to protect and create jobs in Wyoming and across the United States as a strong advocate for domestic energy production from a diverse array of sources.

MIKE has been a longtime member and top Republican of the Senate Budget Committee and, before that, of the



Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. Although we certainly have not agreed on many policy issues and priorities over the years, I have greatly appreciated working alongside Senator ENZI to fund and define many other legislative priorities to meet the needs of the American people.

I will miss my fellow Italian-Irish friend. We were a proud caucus of the only two Irish-Italian American Senators. Upon his retirement from the Senate, I would like to thank Senator ENZI for his service, and Marcelle and I wish MIKE and his wife Diana all the best.

#### TRIBUTE TO TOM UDALL

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, there are some for whom public service simply isn't a choice; it runs through their veins as a calling and a force that draws them to answer an undeniable call. TOM UDALL is one of those people, and when the curtain closes on this 116th Congress and on TOM's service in the Senate, it will bookend a career in Congress in which the Udalls, a family steeped in public service, can take great pride. The UDALL legacy will live on in its benefits for generations of Americans to come.

First as a Representative to the U.S. House and later as a U.S. Senator, TOM has consistently fought for the interests of New Mexico and his State's people. He has been instrumental in the passage of legislation that has not only brought important resources to the people of New Mexico, but has protected and preserved our environment. For his constituents at home, this has meant more conservation of public lands and significant expansions of access to education, healthcare, and land tenure rights for Native Americans in New Mexico and across the United States.

TOM fought hard to protect the environment and invest in a more sustainable future. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and as the ranking member of the Interior and Environment Subcommittee, he advocated strongly for continued financial assistance for Federal, State, and local programs that focus on environmental conservation and work to address climate change and its effects. Critically, he fought against draconian budget cuts to such entities as the Environmental Protection Agency and fought to protect our clean air and clean drinking water laws. Working with TOM on the Appropriations Committee, it has been easy to see his clear dedication to his constituents, and his devoted service to country.

I was saddened when TOM announced his retirement, but I believe TOM will never close the door on his public service. Marcelle and I wish TOM and his wife Jill, and the rest of their family, all the best in the coming years. It was a privilege to be on the floor of the Senate when TOM gave his farewell ad-

dress. Such honesty, patriotism, wisdom of how we can and must restore the workings of the Senate—all current Senators and future Senators should listen.

#### NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN LATINO ACT

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I rise to engage in a colloquy with the distinguished chairman of the Senate Rules Committee and the senior Senator from Texas with regard to a commitment made between all of us here.

This commitment is related to the [consideration] of H.R. 2420, National Museum of the American Latino Act, previously reported out of the Rules Committee on December 3, and championed by Senator CORNYN.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and having spearheaded the effort to design and build the Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial, I appreciate the goal of this legislation, but also the challenges getting the effort across the goal line.

H.R. 2420 has an honorable cause: to build a museum that focuses on the legacy of the Latino people, one that is embedded in the history of the United States. The purpose of the National Museum of the American Latino is to serve as the premier location for people to learn about Latino contributions to life, art, history, and culture in the United States.

I support such an effort. However, I raise one issue with the legislation, that the U.S. Department of Agriculture's historic main headquarters building is specified in the bill as a potential location for the museum.

USDA has been headquartered at the location on the National Mall since 1868. The main building was renamed in 1995 in honor of one of the longest serving members of Congress, Jaime L. Whitten of Mississippi. I had the pleasure to serve with Chairman Whitten in the House.

USDA provides leadership on issues related to food, agriculture, rural development, and nutrition. The work of the Department benefits residents in our rural communities and supports agriculture production that feeds hundreds of millions of Americans and others throughout the world.

The legacy of the Latino people is intertwined with the communities that USDA serves in rural and urban America.

I appreciate the efforts of the Commission to Study the Potential Creation of a National Museum of the American Latino. Having recently completed the decades-long endeavor to establish Ike's memorial, I am sympathetic to the desire to establish a tribute in our Nation's Capitol. It is not an easy process, and there will undoubtedly be challenges along the way.

Attempting to relocate the historic headquarters of one of the largest Federal agencies which serves all Americans is a hurdle that can be avoided.

So I encourage the board of trustees of the National Museum of the American Latino and the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution, who are responsible for choosing the site location of the museum, to work through their processes as they finalize a location. And as they do so, I encourage them to appreciate USDA's mission and constituency when they make hard decisions and consider the expense of relocating USDA.

I am pleased that we have come to a compact with regard to the location for this museum, that we agree here to encourage the board of trustees and the board regents to break ground on a fresh location, rather than a historic site of a Department that has served and will continue to serve our Nation's farmers, ranchers, growers, and other rural stakeholders.

I now yield to my friend, Mr. BLUNT, the senior Senator from Missouri and chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, to offer his perspective.

Mr. BLUNT. Thank you, Chairman ROBERTS. I was pleased the Rules Committee favorably approved H.R. 2420, the National Museum of the American Latino Act, earlier this month.

There is no doubt the stories of the American Latino are important and must be told more fully than they have been in the past. I want to commend Senators CORNYN and MENENDEZ on their diligent efforts to get here. I know it has been a long road.

In order to keep this legislation moving forward, I agree with Chairman ROBERTS on the need to state for the record the importance of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's historic main headquarters.

While that building is listed in the bill as a potential location for the museum, the Senate recognizes the extreme imposition this would place on the Department and the people it serves.

As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture—and that subcommittee's former ranking member—I couldn't agree more with Chairman ROBERTS that the work of the USDA is crucially important to Missouri, to Kansas, to the Nation, and the international community as well. Clearly, that work would be disrupted if the USDA and its staff were forced to relocate.

I join Chairman ROBERTS in encouraging the Smithsonian's board of regents to recognize the role and expanse of the USDA when selecting a location for the museum and to look for a more appropriate site for the museum.

I now yield to the Senior Senator from Texas, an early champion of this legislation, for his remarks.

Mr. CORNYN. Thank you to the senior Senator from Kansas for his leadership over the years and his attention to this bill. I also thank the chairman for holding a hearing and passing this important bill out of his committee.

I know some of our colleagues have concerns about the museum location,

and I can assure them, Congress will have a voice in the site of the museum. Before construction can begin, congressional committees will be consulted on site selection, as detailed in the bill.

The Smithsonian board of regents, which will select the site, is chaired by Supreme Court Chief Justice Roberts and comprises multiple members of Congress, including three sitting Senators, as well as the Vice President.

Congress will also need to appropriate funds, a de facto ratification or rejection of the site selected by the Smithsonian board of regents.

I intend there will be open lines of communication between members of Congress and the Smithsonian board of regents as they undertake this significant project.

It has been estimated if we pass this bill today, the doors to a new museum would not open for at least a decade and more likely not until 2034—so I am eager to get the process moving.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I appreciate the work of my colleagues for raising the issue of the site of National Museum of the American Latino and for helping to find agreement.

I thank Chairman BLUNT and Senator CORNYN for their commitment. I also thank many of our colleagues who helped us reach this solution today.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, the Senate will soon vote on the conference report for the annual defense policy bill, known as the National Defense Authorization Act or NDAA. Like all conference reports, this is a product of negotiations between the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Producing a conference report takes dedicated negotiators who are willing to make tough compromises. I commend them for their work, and I particularly want to thank my friend, Senator JACK REED, who has shown strong leadership as the ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

I hope these negotiations will be a good omen for how Congress will work under the incoming Biden administration.

But supporting the process that produced this conference report is very different from supporting the report on its merits.

I have voted against the Senate version of this defense bill twice now, once during the rollcall vote in July and then during a voice vote last month. House negotiators have managed to improve the bill since then, but not so significantly that I am able to support it now.

I want to be clear that I support plenty of provisions in this NDAA. I even wrote or negotiated some of the language to improve the bill.

The bill includes anti-money laundering provisions, which I strongly support. I have twice introduced bipar-

tisan legislation to end the abuse of anonymous shell companies, and I am happy to see the NDAA expand upon my efforts.

The conference report will also set in motion a 3-year process to remove Confederate names from military assets. I would have preferred a shorter timeline, but I am glad that Congress will be taking this overdue step to ensure that military bases do not honor traitors who fought to defend the horrific institution of slavery.

And the conference report also includes my amendments to push the Pentagon toward encrypting its computers and to require the Army to provide a plan to finish cleaning up the former Umatilla Army Depot within 3 years.

But I cannot in good conscience authorize \$740 billion in military spending—including roughly \$70 billion to continue the forever wars—while Senate Republicans are offering mere crumbs to help folks stay safe from a raging pandemic and help small businesses stay afloat during this unprecedented time.

I said previously that I could not vote for a defense bill with Federal agents actively occupying Portland and treating peaceful protestors like foreign enemies. Donald Trump may have removed much of his occupying force but this bill does nothing to prevent him or any future president from ordering similar abuses.

And I have serious concerns about a provision that will permit the Secretary of the Treasury or the Attorney General to issue subpoenas, with indefinite gag orders, to foreign banks that maintain a correspondent account in the United States.

There may be some limited instances where it may be appropriate to restrict bank employees from notifying account holders about a Federal subpoena to obtain their records, but as a general rule, I oppose indefinite gag orders. I worry this section grants dangerous powers to the executive branch to regulate speech, raising very serious First Amendment and due process concerns. That is why gag orders should not be included automatically with every subpoena and should have an expiration date, so that any restrictions on speech apply no longer than necessary.

I regret that these and other flaws mean that I must continue to oppose this NDAA at this time. I yield the floor with the hope that Republicans will be as willing to provide real help for everyday Americans suffering—particularly during this tough holiday season—as they are to greenlight ever-higher levels of military spending.

#### RECOGNIZING THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME FOR RECEIVING THE 2020 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. President, I rise to honor the United Nations World Food Programme, which is receiving the 2020 Nobel Peace Prize today.

The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to those “who shall have done the most, or the best work, for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses.”

The World Food Programme, WFP, the largest humanitarian organization focused on eliminating global hunger and increasing food security, truly embodies those ideals.

The organization was awarded the honor for “its efforts to combat hunger, for its contribution to bettering conditions for peace in conflict-affected areas, and for acting as a driving force in efforts to prevent the use of hunger as a weapon of war and conflict.”

Those efforts, when put into numbers, show just what an enormous impact WFP has as a last line of defense between hungry people and starvation. Each year, the organization provides more than 15 billion meals to 100 million people in more than 80 countries. It was the world’s largest nongovernmental provider of school meals, reaching 18 million children in 59 countries in last year.

The logistical challenges of accomplishing this goal may seem overwhelming to most but not to the WFP. The organization has it down to a science. WFP’s 18,000 staff has over 5,000 trucks, 120 aircraft, and 20 ships on the move daily, bringing food to those who need it most.

The WFP’s executive director, David Beasley, is a good friend of mine. His commitment to serving a higher calling is inspirational. I couldn’t be more pleased that the spotlight is pointed on the work of the WFP under David’s dedicated leadership.

David will be the first to tell you that despite this honor, the WFP’s work is far from complete. After the announcement, he said, “The good news is we’re feeding 80 million people on any given day in 80 countries. The bad news is it’s getting worse out there—the famine, the droughts, the conflicts.”

While that assessment is spot-on, I would add one more factor to the list, the coronavirus pandemic. According to the WFP, the COVID-19 pandemic has the potential to double the number of people facing acute hunger to 270 million people. It may also lead to emergence of famine in multiple countries.

The pandemic makes the lifesaving work of the WFP all that much more vital. In a world where 60 percent of people suffering from chronic hunger live in countries affected by violence, additional nutritional access constraints only serve to make food a more powerful weapon of war. The WFP’s efforts to overcome that challenge and bring food to the hungry in conflict zones makes the organization well-deserved of the honor of a Nobel Peace Prize.

Eliminating hunger at home and abroad takes an all-hands-on-deck approach. It requires leaders with visionary solutions and supporting team members who are willing to put in the hard work to bring about meaningful change. David Beasley and his team at the WFP embody these principles. I congratulate them and offer my continued support as we work together toward a world where hunger is no longer an issue.

#### TRIBUTE TO PAT ROBERTS

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, when his official portrait that will hang in the Senate Agriculture Committee hearing room was unveiled last month, Senator PAT ROBERTS said the panel he led so well “has a long history of caring more about the issues than the ideology, more about the people than the party.”

Those words perfectly describe PAT’s philosophy of public service. Throughout his four decades in Congress, this remarkable Kansan has always stood for government that is responsible to the taxpayers and responsive to the needs of the American people. He believes in a legislative process that is open, transparent, and bipartisan.

PAT retires with an extraordinary record of accomplishment. He is the first person in history to have served as chairman of the Agriculture Committees in both the House and the Senate. He is Kansas’ longest serving Member of Congress. As the ultimate evidence of the trust the people of his beloved State have in him, PAT has been on the ballot in 24 elections since 1980 and has won every time.

PAT and I were sworn in to the Senate on the same day in January of 1997. It has been an honor to serve alongside this national leader in agriculture, health care, and defense. He is an advocate of a strong education system, free and fair trade policies, increased investment in science and technology, a focused foreign policy, and a strong military.

This effective advocate for our Nation’s family farms is a champion for rural America. A recent example is the State Offices of Rural Health Reauthorization Act he introduced and that I cosponsored. This law helps equip rural communities with the resources they need to strengthen their health care delivery systems and improve access to high-quality services for individuals living in rural and underserved areas.

From the U.S. Marine Corps to the U.S. Congress, PAT has served our Nation with uncommon dedication. His wide-ranging accomplishments are united by a commitment to move America forward and empower the American people. I thank him for his service and his friendship and wish him, Frankie, and their family well in the years to come.

#### TRIBUTE TO MARTHA MCSALLY

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, in her memoir titled “Dare to Fly”, Senator Martha McSally tells an especially inspiring story from her Air Force days as the first American woman to fly in combat. This one anecdote reveals the totality of her character.

In September 2005, a routine mission in the skies over Afghanistan suddenly turned into an emergency when a team of U.S. Special Forces were trapped in a canyon and under hostile fire. She raced to the scene only to discover that virtually all of the high-tech electronics for her A-10 Thunderbolt’s navigation and weapons systems had failed.

She had a choice to make: Withdraw, wait for backup, and leave the troops in jeopardy, or continue the attack with her skill, determination, and courage replacing the malfunctioning technology. She made the choice that those of us who have had the honor of working with this great leader from Arizona have come to expect.

The full title of Senator McSally’s memoir is “Dare to Fly: Simple Lessons in Never Giving Up.” From 26 years in the U.S. Air Force, achieving the rank of full colonel and becoming not only the first woman to fly in combat but also the first to command a fighter squadron, to two terms in the House of Representatives, to her service in the Senate, she has done a lot in her remarkable life. Giving up is one thing she has never done.

It has been a pleasure to work with Senator McSally on many issues, from increasing preventive care and treatment for breast cancer to promoting animal welfare. As a champion for the men and women who serve our country in uniform, she led the way in creating a nationwide Veterans Treatment Court Program to provide our heroes with treatment they need to recover from the invisible wounds of war.

Senator McSally has been a strong advocate for Arizona seniors and a dedicated and involved member of the Aging Committee, of which I serve as chairman. Together, we worked to protect older adults from criminals who sought to rob them of their hard-earned savings and introduced two senior fraud bills: the Anti-Spoofing Penalties Modernization Act to combat unwanted robocalls and the Stamp Out Elder Abuse Act to support community efforts to prevent abuse, exploitation, and neglect.

Senator McSally’s memoir contains another powerful story. When she was just 12 years old, her father was stricken by illness and had not long to live. He called his young daughter to his bedside and said this to her: “Make me proud.”

That is another mission this American hero has carried out fully on behalf of the people of Arizona and of our Nation. It makes me proud to have served with Senator Martha McSally, and I wish her all the best in the years to come.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### TRIBUTE TO SUSANA CORDOVA

• Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, I rise to commend a great educator, Susana Cordova, for her service to Denver, our schools, and our children. As Susana steps down as superintendent of Denver Public Schools, it is the right time to say thank you and, more, to say how much we love and respect her for her dedication. She has done so much more than give 30 years to the Denver Public Schools.

At every moment of her DPS career, Susana has been an educator’s educator—committed to each student, able to see their unique gifts and envision their individual success, and willing to meet them where they are so she could walk alongside them as they learned.

She began as a teacher, first at Denver’s Horace Mann Middle School and West High School. There, she taught language arts to students who mostly spoke Spanish at home. She became an assistant principal at Bryant-Webster Elementary School and then a principal at Remington Elementary School, two more schools that served Spanish-speaking families. In her 4 years at Remington, the school saw gains of 33 percent in reading.

In 2002, she joined district leadership and again worked tirelessly to improve outcomes for students. Susana knew that the way to do this was to challenge students academically—to read the poem and write a clear argument about it, to think like a mathematician and show your work, to take courses that earned college credit or offered real workplace experience. Her approach placed high expectations on teachers and principals, not just students. But because she had done the work herself, she was compassionate and always joined with her colleagues learning how to meet those expectations.

In nearly all of these years, DPS improved graduation, literacy, and math rates faster than the State of Colorado. Just as important, achievement gaps narrowed. Throughout Susana’s tenure as an instructional leader, DPS focused on improving the academic outcomes of students of color and students from families who qualify for free lunch. She would be the first to say that Denver, like other big-city school systems, has plenty of work left to do. There are still Denver children who might have even greater opportunity when they graduated if they were challenged to read “Bless Me, Ultima,” if they had a few more chances to learn how to balance a chemical equation, or if they graduated with a little college credit to help them along the way to earning a college degree.

Susana’s commitment to DPS is more than professional. As a student, she attended kindergarten at Denver’s Barnum Elementary School. She went on to Kepner Middle School and graduated from Abraham Lincoln High

School. She became the first in her family to go to college. Her roots in DPS span three generations. Her mother, Rita Cordova, attended Denver's Franklin and Greenlee elementary schools, Baker Junior High School, and West High School, before beginning a career as an office professional at Denver's Lake Junior High and then her alma mater, West. Both of Susana and Eric's children, Alex and Carmen, are DPS graduates.

Public education is one generation's commitment of equity, freedom, and prosperity to the generation that follows. Susana's story teaches us what happens when we follow through. Mothers and fathers pass the benefits forward to their daughters and sons. At a community meeting held before she was selected by the Denver Board of Education to become superintendent, she described the promise of public education like this:

It gave me access and opportunity to a world that didn't exist in my neighborhood. My mother grew up in Denver and went to the Denver public schools, as well. She didn't have access to the kinds of classes I had access to. It leveled the playing field for minority kids like me.

Public education is not a promise that keeps itself. Susana's career in DPS teaches us how much work is needed to make sure we don't drop the ball. We keep the promise one student and one classroom at a time. It takes teachers, principals and district leaders, families, and community members, each willing, like Susana, to do their part with the patience and diligence they would wish for their own child.●

#### TRIBUTE TO BILL RANEY

● **Ms. CAPITO.** Mr. President, I rise to recognize Bill Raney, a dedicated West Virginian, who is retiring after serving 28 years as president and chief executive officer of the West Virginia Coal Association.

Bill knows the value of coal—to our Appalachian communities, where it puts food on the table; to our State, where it provides tax revenues to pave our roads and fund our schools; and to our Nation, where it has helped power the greatest economic engine the world has ever known for more than a century. He also appreciates the challenges and dangers inherent in producing the black gold that creates all that well-being, starting his career working in public service to protect our miners.

Starting in 1970, Bill—a graduate of his beloved West Virginia University—became familiarized with the coal industry working as a surface mine inspector for the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources Division of Reclamation. In recognition of his service, he was later promoted to assistant chief of that division. Moving to the private sector, Bill then served as vice president of the West Virginia Mining & Reclamation Association from 1977, until being named president

of the West Virginia Coal Association in 1992. When the two organizations merged in 2000, he remained president of the newly formed organization, representing the whole of West Virginia's coal industry.

Bill held these leadership positions serving the hard-working coal miners of West Virginia, while also serving his country in the West Virginia Army National Guard. During his time with the Guard, he served in various leadership roles, including commander of the 1092nd Combat Engineer Battalion, commander of the 111th Engineer Group, and special assistant to the Adjutant General at the rank of colonel. Following his personal service, Bill has continued advocating on behalf of our guardsmen as president of the West Virginia National Guard Association and chairman of the West Virginia National Guard Foundation.

Bill's participation in civic organizations extends far beyond the military and the coal industry, as he has served as both chairman and as a current board member of the West Virginia Business & Industry Council; current board member of the West Virginia Youth Leadership Association's Youth in Government Program, former chairman and current board member of the West Virginia Kids Count Fund; advisory member of the West Virginia Department of Environmental Protection Advisory Committee; member of the West Virginia University School of Engineering Mining Program Visiting Committee; as an elder at the First Presbyterian Church in Charleston; and volunteering his time with several other organizations. Bill has left an indelible legacy through his commitment to our State and our Nation's military, impacts that will be felt throughout and beyond the coalfields.

Bill Raney's passion for the coal industry and the improvement of the State has earned him numerous honors and awards over the course of his distinguished career. This includes but is not limited to the Distinguished West Virginian Award, the WVU Alumni Association's Most Loyal Alumni Award, the National Multiple Sclerosis Association's Hope Award, and the Lewis McManus Service Award given by the West Virginia Youth in Government Program. Mr. Raney has also been inducted into the West Virginia Coal Hall of Fame and the First Tee Hall of Fame.

It has been an honor to know and work with Bill during his distinguished tenure representing the coal industry and several esteemed civic organizations in West Virginia. He has been a great ally, resource, and friend to me over the years, and I will be forever grateful for his service. I wish him and his wife Pam many years of joy in this new phase of life. It is truly an honor to recognize and congratulate my friend Bill Raney on his well-deserved retirement.●

#### TRIBUTE TO PETE SFERRAZZA

● **Ms. CORTEZ MASTO.** Mr. President, today I am honored to recognize former Reno mayor and justice of the peace for the Reno Justice Court, Pete Sferrazza, who retired in October of this year.

Mr. Sferrazza has a long history of public service to the great State of Nevada. He served as Reno's mayor from 1981 until 1995, an unprecedented length of service, and served as a judge on the Reno Justice Court from 2008 until his retirement earlier this year. In the intervening years, Mr. Sferrazza served as county commissioner for Washoe County, from 1998 to 2007.

During his time as mayor and throughout his life of public service, Mr. Sferrazza focused on advancing labor rights and economic prosperity, while promoting the beauty of the Reno community. As mayor, he led the establishment of the City of Reno Arts Commission, as well as the creation of Reno's Victim Advocate Program, which has served as a model for the rest of the State. Mr. Sferrazza was also responsible for helping to preserve the Mt. Rose Wilderness and supporting the iconic Truckee River Walk.

In a time of seemingly stark political divide, Mr. Sferrazza is a shining example of what an elected official can and should be. As county commissioner, he approved a number of expansions of Reno's downtown and helped to consolidate various local emergency services, increasing efficiency and reducing costs. Finally, during his time on the Reno Justice Court, Mr. Sferrazza was elected by his colleagues as president of the American Judges Association, the largest judges' association in the United States. His willingness and desire to help everyone in his community have been crucial to the city's development, especially as the city continues to grow into the 21st century.

I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing Mr. Pete Sferrazza as he retires after decades of serving the city of Reno, Washoe County, and the State of Nevada in so many ways. His time in public office has made the Reno-Sparks community stronger and more inclusive for everyone, and I want to thank him for his service and lifelong commitment to leaving the Truckee Meadows a better place than he found it. ●

#### TRIBUTE TO DOUG MARTENS

● **Mr. DAINES.** Mr. President, this week I have the honor of recognizing Doug Martens of Rosebud County for his years of service to his community and being elected to serve as president of the Montana Association of Counties.

Doug raised his family in Montana and is a proud husband, father, and grandfather. Before serving 10 years as a commissioner in Rosebud County, Doug was a fire warden and president of the Montana Fire Wardens Association. Doug is a dedicated public servant, and at the same time, he runs his

family farm and ranch operation outside of Forsyth, MT.

Doug has also been an outspoken advocate for Montana energy and coal jobs. He has been a passionate leader in this space and continues to help educate Montanans on the importance of coal including the jobs it creates and the energy it produces throughout our Nation.

It is my distinct honor to recognize Doug for his lifetime of service to the people of Rosebud County. I have no doubt his dedication and hard work will continue to serve his community and the Montana Association of Counties exceptionally well.●

#### RECOGNIZING LA CABANITA MEX

● Mr. RISC. Mr. President, as a member and former chairman of the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, each month I recognize and celebrate the American entrepreneurial spirit by highlighting the success of a small business in my home State of Idaho. Today I am pleased to honor La Cabanita Mex in Ketchum as the Idaho Small Business of the Month for December 2020.

Growing up, Rodolfo Armenta was captivated by his father's cooking and passion for traditional Mexican cuisine. Rodolfo knew he wanted serve his father's food as a career and dreamed of one day opening up his own Mexican restaurant.

During a visit to Idaho's Wood River Valley, Rodolfo fell in love with the area's natural beauty and tight-knit community and soon relocated his family to the area. After years of hard work and determination, Rodolfo opened La Cabanita in Ketchum where it continues to thrive today.

Since its 2009 opening, La Cabanita has become a beloved institution, garnering accolades for its exceptional food, family atmosphere, and dedicated service to the community. It has received multiple awards, including the gold medal for "Best Mexican Restaurant" in the Idaho Mountain Express's Best of Valley Survey for 5 years in a row, and continues to draw in locals and tourists alike.

Thanks to the success of the Ketchum location, Rodolfo opened a second La Cabanita in Bellevue and a bakery in the Wood River Valley, providing dozens of jobs to the local community and giving Idahoans a true sense of the cultural vibrance that surrounds Mexican cuisine.

Congratulations to Rodolfo, his family, and all of the employees of La Cabanita Mex on being selected as the Idaho Small Business of the Month for December 2020. You make our great State proud, and I look forward to your continued growth and success.●

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Ms. Roberts, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting a nomination which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

(The message received today is printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:49 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1426. An act to amend the Department of Energy Organization Act to address insufficient compensation of employees and other personnel of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1570. An act to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to waive coinsurance under Medicare for colorectal cancer screening tests, regardless of whether therapeutic intervention is required during the screening, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1966. An act to direct the Comptroller General of the United States to complete a study on barriers to participation in federally funded cancer clinical trials by populations that have been traditionally underrepresented in such trials.

H.R. 3361. An act to amend the Energy Policy Act of 2005 to reauthorize hydroelectric production incentives and hydroelectric efficiency improvement incentives, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3797. An act to amend the Controlled Substances Act to make marijuana accessible for use by qualified marijuana researchers for medical purposes, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5541. An act to amend the Energy Policy Act of 1992 to reauthorize programs to assist consenting Indian Tribes in meeting energy education, planning, and management needs, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5758. An act to amend the Energy Policy and Conservation Act to make technical corrections to the energy conservation standard for ceiling fans, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7898. An act to amend the Health Information Technology for Economic and Clinical Health Act to require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to consider certain recognized security practices of covered entities and business associates when making certain determinations, and for other purposes.

#### MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 1570. An act to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to waive coinsurance under Medicare for colorectal cancer screening tests, regardless of whether therapeutic intervention is required during the screening, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

H.R. 1966. An act to direct the Comptroller General of the United States to complete a study on barriers to participation in federally funded cancer clinical trials by populations that have been traditionally under-

represented in such trials; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

H.R. 5541. An act to amend the Energy Policy Act of 1992 to reauthorize programs to assist consenting Indian Tribes in meeting energy education, planning, and management needs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 5758. An act to amend the Energy Policy and Conservation Act to make technical corrections to the energy conservation standard for ceiling fans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 1426. An act to amend the Department of Energy Organization Act to address insufficient compensation of employees and other personnel of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3361. An act to amend the Energy Policy Act of 2005 to reauthorize hydroelectric production incentives and hydroelectric efficiency improvement incentives, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-6076. A communication from the Acting Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), transmitting, pursuant to law, a semiannual report entitled, "Acceptance of Contributions for Defense Programs, Projects, and Activities; Defense Cooperation Account" and a semiannual listing of personal property contributed by coalition partners; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-6077. A communication from the Secretary of the Commission, Division of Market Oversight, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Real-Time Public Reporting Requirements" (RIN3038-AE60) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 2, 2020; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-6078. A communication from the Secretary of the Commission, Division of Market Oversight, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Swap Data Recordkeeping and Reporting Requirements" (RIN3038-AE31) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 2, 2020; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-6079. A communication from the Secretary of the Commission, Division of Market Oversight, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Amendments to the Commission's Regulations Relating to Certain Swap Data Repository and Data Reporting Requirements" (RIN3038-AE32) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 2, 2020; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-6080. A communication from the Acting Deputy Director of Legislative Affairs, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Interim Final Rule—Temporary

Asset Thresholds" (RIN3064-AF67) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-6081. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Test Methods and Performance Specifications for Air Emission Sources; Correction" (FRL No. 10016-14-OAR) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-6082. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Partial Approval and Partial Disapproval; California; San Diego" (FRL No. 10016-79-Region 9) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-6083. A communication from the Director of Congressional Affairs, Office of Nuclear Reactor Regulations, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Dry Storage and Transportation of High Burnup Spent Nuclear Fuel" (NUREG-2224) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-6084. A communication from the Director of Congressional Affairs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regulatory Guides (RG) 5.76, Revision 1, "Physical Protection Programs at Nuclear Power Reactors (SGI)" received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-6085. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Unrelated Business Taxable Income Separately Computed for Each Trade or Business" ((RIN1545-B079) (TD 9933)) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6086. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Coordination of Extraordinary Disposition and Disqualified Basis Rules" ((RIN1545-BP57) (TD 9934)) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6087. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Withholding of Tax and Information Reporting with Respect to Interests in Partnerships Engaged in a U.S. Trade or Business" (RIN1545-B060) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6088. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Report on the Twelfth Review of the Backlog of Postmarketing Requirements and Commitments"; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-6089. A communication from the Regulations Coordinator, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled

"Amendments to the HHS-operated Risk Adjustment Data Validation (HHS-RADV) under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act's HHS-operated Risk Adjustment Program (CMS-9913-F)" (RIN0938-AU23) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-6090. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Office of the Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Uniform Resource Locator (URL) for the Department's Agency Financial Report for fiscal year 2020; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-6091. A communication from the Chairman, Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Commission's Performance and Accountability Report for fiscal year 2020; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-6092. A communication from the Board Members of the Railroad Retirement Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Board's Semiannual Report of the Inspector General for the period from April 1, 2020 through September 30, 2020; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-6093. A communication from the Chair, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Commission's Agency Financial Report for fiscal year 2020; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-6094. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Implementation of the CARES Act Extended January 1, 2021 Due Date for Contributions to Defined Benefit Plans" (Notice 2020-82) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6095. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "2020 Required Amendments List for Qualified Retirement Plans and Section 403(b) Retirement Plans" (Notice 2020-83) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6096. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Revenue Ruling: 2020-25" (Rev. Rul. 2020-25) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6097. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Guidance on the Premium Tax Credit and the Suspension of Personal Exemption Deduction" (TD 9912) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-6098. A communication from the Associate Administrator for Policy, Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Hours of Service of Drivers; Definition of Agricultural Commodity" (RIN2126-AC24) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2020; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-6099. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Acquisi-

tion and Sustainment), transmitting, pursuant to law, an interim response to a delay in meeting the reporting requirement on a report to Congress on any negotiated comprehensive subcontracting plan for Fiscal Year 2019 that the Secretary determines did not meet the subcontracting goals negotiated in the plan for the prior fiscal year; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-6100. A communication from the Program Analyst, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) Compliance" (RIN0596-AD31) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 2, 2020; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-6101. A communication from the Secretary of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Customer Margin Rules Relating to Security Futures" (RIN3038-AE88) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 2, 2020; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petition or memorial was laid before the Senate and was referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-265. A petition from a citizen of the State of Texas relative to credit inquiries; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. HOEVEN, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 2610. A bill to reauthorize certain programs under the Office of Indian Energy Policy and Programs of the Department of Energy, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 116-310).

## EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE

The following executive reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. GRAHAM for the Committee on the Judiciary.

Thomas L. Kirsch II, of Indiana, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit.

Katherine A. Crytzer, of Tennessee, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Tennessee.

Joseph Dawson III, of South Carolina, to be United States District Judge for the District of South Carolina.

Charles Edward Atchley, Jr., of Tennessee, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Tennessee.

Zachary N. Somers, of the District of Columbia, to be a Judge of the United States Court of Federal Claims for a term of fifteen years.

(Nominations without an asterisk were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed.)

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first



and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. RUBIO):

S. 4997. A bill to authorize the tenth general capital increase for the Inter-American Development Bank and to strengthen recovery efforts in Latin America and the Caribbean related to the COVID-19 pandemic, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. COTTON:

S. 4998. A bill to amend part D of title IV of the Social Security Act to allow States to receive Federal matching payments for mandatory work activity programs for noncustodial parents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HAWLEY:

S. 4999. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide additional recovery rebates to individuals; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PORTMAN (for himself, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Ms. CANTWELL, and Mrs. SHAHEEN):

S. 5000. A bill to provide support with respect to the prevention of, treatment for, and recovery from, substance use disorder; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. CARDIN:

S. 5001. A bill to amend the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 to fund job-creating improvements in energy and resiliency for Federal buildings managed by the General Services Administration, to enable a portfolio of clean buildings by 2030, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. VAN HOLLEN:

S. 5002. A bill to improve the quality, appropriateness, and effectiveness of diagnosis in health care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. WICKER:

S. 5003. A bill to protect the rights of student athletes, to provide for transparency and accountability with respect to student athlete name, image, and likeness agreements, and to establish an independent entity for intercollegiate athletics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. SCHATZ (for himself and Mr. VAN HOLLEN):

S. 5004. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide funding to public housing agencies for the purpose of providing tenant-based assistance to individuals experiencing an economic crisis or natural disaster, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN:

S. 5005. A bill to require pension plans subject to the requirements of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to establish minimum standards to address the threat from investments that finance Communist Chinese military companies; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. CRUZ:

S. 5006. A bill to provide for the repatriation to the United States for historical and educational purposes of military decorations, medals, and related items that are located outside the United States, to provide for the imposition of sanctions in connection with trade in military medals and decorations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BOOZMAN (for himself, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. COTTON, and Ms. COLLINS):

S. 5007. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for an increase in payment under part B of the Medicare program for certain services in response to COVID-19; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PETERS (for himself and Mr. PORTMAN):

S. 5008. A bill to require notification of incidents at agencies involving sensitive personal information, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. MORAN:

S. 5009. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to address the eligibility for certain small businesses and organizations to receive loans under the Paycheck Protection Program; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Ms. HIRONO (for herself and Ms. ERNST):

S. 5010. A bill to establish the Servicemembers and Veterans Initiative within the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself and Mr. CORNYN):

S. Res. 799. A resolution designating December 2020 as "National Impaired Driving Prevention Month"; considered and agreed to.

## ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 959

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) was added as a cosponsor of S. 959, a bill to establish in the Smithsonian Institution a comprehensive women's history museum, and for other purposes.

S. 2882

At the request of Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, her name was added as a cosponsor of S. 2882, a bill to establish a community wildfire defense grant program, and for other purposes.

S. 3595

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3595, a bill to require a longitudinal study on the impact of COVID-19.

S. 4134

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. SMITH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4134, a bill to establish a demonstration project to increase access to biosimilar products under the Medicare program.

S. 4433

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4433, a bill to authorize the National Medal of Honor Museum Foundation to establish a commemorative work in the District of Columbia and its environs, and for other purposes.

S. 4629

At the request of Mr. MENENDEZ, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4629, a bill to address issues involving the People's Republic of China.

S. 4840

At the request of Mr. ROBERTS, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Ms. ROSEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4840, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require the inclusion of certain audio-only diagnoses in the determination of risk adjustment for Medicare Advantage plans, and for other purposes.

S. 4867

At the request of Mr. COONS, the names of the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND) and the Senator from Georgia (Mrs. LOEFFLER) were added as cosponsors of S. 4867, a bill to direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services to support research on, and expanded access to, investigational drugs for amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, and for other purposes.

S. 4898

At the request of Ms. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER) and the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO) were added as cosponsors of S. 4898, a bill to amend title VI of the Social Security Act to extend the period during which States, Indian Tribes, and local governments may use Coronavirus Relief Fund payments.

S. 4927

At the request of Mr. DAINES, the name of the Senator from Nebraska (Mrs. FISCHER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4927, a bill to exclude EIDL advance amounts from the calculation of loan forgiveness under the paycheck protection program, and for other purposes.

S. 4932

At the request of Mr. PAUL, the name of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. JONES) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4932, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to ensure appropriate global surgical package code values in the Medicare program.

S. 4935

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the names of the Senator from Hawaii (Ms. HIRONO), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) and the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) were added as cosponsors of S. 4935, a bill to provide continued assistance to unemployed workers.

S. 4947

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. DAINES) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4947, a bill to amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act to require annual lease sales in the Gulf of Mexico region of the outer Continental Shelf, and for other purposes.

S. 4995

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms.

COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 4995, a bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to modify the Commodity Futures Trading Commission Customer Protection Fund, and for other purposes.

S. RES. 754

At the request of Mr. MENENDEZ, the name of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 754, a resolution requesting information on the Government of Azerbaijan's human rights practices pursuant to section 502B(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

S. RES. 755

At the request of Mr. MENENDEZ, the name of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 755, a resolution requesting information on the Government of Turkey's human rights practices pursuant to section 502B(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

S. RES. 794

At the request of Mr. COTTON, the name of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BOOZMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 794, a resolution urging the European Parliament to exempt certain technologies used to detect child sexual exploitation from European Union ePrivacy directive.

#### SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 799—DESIGNATING DECEMBER 2020 AS “NATIONAL IMPAIRED DRIVING PREVENTION MONTH”

Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself and Mr. CORNYN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 799

Whereas, in 2018, the most recent data available, the United States recorded 10,511 deaths from drunk driving, of whom 231 were children aged 14 and under;

Whereas, in 2018, 29 percent of all fatal motor vehicle crashes involved alcohol-impaired driving;

Whereas, between December 16, 2020, and January 1, 2021, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and partnering State and local law enforcement agencies will engage in high visibility mobilization to prevent impaired driving;

Whereas, in 2018, 42 percent of all impaired driving cases evaluated by drug recognition experts found multi-substance impairment, according to the International Association of Chiefs of Police;

Whereas, in 2019, nearly 20,000,000 people aged 16 and older in the United States drove under the influence of alcohol;

Whereas, in 2019, nearly 13,700,000 people aged 16 and older in the United States drove under the influence of cocaine (including crack), heroin, hallucinogens, inhalants, methamphetamine, or marijuana, which is an 8 percent increase compared to 2018;

Whereas the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety found that new technologies that prevent alcohol-impaired drivers from operating vehicles can save 9,000 lives per year and that driver assistance systems, which help prevent human errors on the road, can potentially reduce the number of crashes and their severity;

Whereas, according to Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the use of ignition interlock devices prevented more than 3,000,000 attempts of alcohol-impaired driving between 2006 and 2018; and

Whereas the National Transportation Safety Board included ending alcohol and other drug-impaired driving on its Most Wanted List of Transportation Safety Improvements for 2019–2020: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) commends the efforts of law enforcement agencies and officers to enforce impaired driving laws;

(2) supports national and State high visibility enforcement campaigns, such as *Drive Sober or Get Pulled Over*;

(3) recognizes the need for greater research on how drugs affect and, in some cases, impair an individual's ability to operate a motor vehicle;

(4) recognizes that technological solutions have the potential to save thousands of lives each year;

(5) supports programs to better collect data on impaired driving, including data on illicit drug use by drivers;

(6) supports programs to train law enforcement officials on detecting and stopping impaired driving; and

(7) designates December 2020 as “National Impaired Driving Prevention Month”.

#### AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 2698. Mr. HAWLEY proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1031, to implement recommendations related to the safety of amphibious passenger vessels, and for other purposes.

SA 2699. Mr. CORNYN (for Mr. ALEXANDER) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1520, to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the publication of a list of licensed biological products, and for other purposes.

SA 2700. Mr. CORNYN (for Mr. WICKER (for himself and Mr. CARDIN)) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1310, to strengthen participation of elected national legislators in the activities of the Organization of American States and reaffirm United States support for Organization of American States human rights and anti-corruption initiatives, and for other purposes.

SA 2701. Mr. SANDERS (for himself and Mr. HAWLEY) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 8900, making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2021, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2702. Ms. MURKOWSKI (for Mr. MORAN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 633, to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the members of the Women's Army Corps who were assigned to the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion, known as the “Six Triple Eight”.

SA 2703. Ms. MURKOWSKI (for Mrs. GILLIBRAND) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1925, to designate the Manhattan Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System of the Department of Veterans Affairs as the “Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System”.

#### TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

**SA 2698.** Mr. HAWLEY proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1031, to implement recommendations related to the safety of amphibious passenger vessels, and for other purposes; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Duck Boat Safety Enhancement Act of 2020”.

#### SEC. 2. SAFETY REQUIREMENTS FOR AMPHIBIOUS PASSENGER VESSELS.

##### (a) SAFETY IMPROVEMENTS.—

(1) **BUOYANCY REQUIREMENTS.**—Not later than 1 year after the date of completion of a Coast Guard contracted assessment by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine of the technical feasibility, practicality, and safety benefits of providing reserve buoyancy through passive means on amphibious passenger vessels, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating may initiate a rulemaking to prescribe in regulations that operators of amphibious passenger vessels provide reserve buoyancy for such vessels through passive means, including watertight compartmentalization, built-in flotation, or such other means as the Secretary may specify in the regulations, in order to ensure that such vessels remain afloat and upright in the event of flooding, including when carrying a full complement of passengers and crew.

(2) **INTERIM REQUIREMENTS.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating shall initiate a rulemaking to implement interim safety policies or other measures to require that operators of amphibious passenger vessels operating in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) comply with the following:

(A) Remove the canopies of such vessels for waterborne operations, or install in such vessels a canopy that does not restrict either horizontal or vertical escape by passengers in the event of flooding or sinking.

(B) If the canopy is removed from such vessel pursuant to subparagraph (A), require that all passengers don a Coast Guard type-approved personal flotation device before the onset of waterborne operations of such vessel.

(C) Install in such vessels at least one independently powered electric bilge pump that is capable of dewatering such vessels at the volume of the largest remaining penetration in order to supplement the vessel's existing bilge pump required under section 182.520 of title 46, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(D) Verify the watertight integrity of such vessel in the water at the outset of each waterborne departure of such vessel.

(b) **REGULATIONS REQUIRED.**—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating shall initiate a rulemaking for amphibious passenger vessels operating in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation). The regulations shall include, at a minimum, the following:

(1) **SEVERE WEATHER EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS.**—Requirements that an operator of an amphibious passenger vessel—

(A) check and notate in the vessel's logbook the National Weather Service forecast before getting underway and periodically while underway;

(B) in the case of a watch or warning issued for wind speeds exceeding the wind speed equivalent used to certify the stability of an amphibious passenger vessel, proceed to the nearest harbor or safe refuge; and

(C) maintain and monitor a weather monitor radio receiver at the operator station that may be automatically activated by the

warning alarm device of the National Weather Service.

(2) **PASSENGER SAFETY.—Requirements—**

(A) concerning whether personal flotation devices should be required for the duration of an amphibious passenger vessel's waterborne transit, which shall be considered and determined by the Secretary;

(B) that operators of amphibious passenger vessels inform passengers that seat belts may not be worn during waterborne operations;

(C) that before the commencement of waterborne operations, a crew member visually check that each passenger has unbuckled the passenger's seatbelt; and

(D) that operators or crew maintain a log recording the actions described in subparagraphs (B) and (C).

(3) **TRAINING.—Requirement for annual training for operators and crew of amphibious passengers vessels, including—**

(A) training for personal flotation and seat belt requirements, verifying the integrity of the vessel at the onset of each waterborne departure, identification of weather hazards, and use of National Weather Service resources prior to operation; and

(B) training for crewmembers to respond to emergency situations, including flooding, engine compartment fires, man overboard situations, and in water emergency egress procedures.

(4) **RECOMMENDATIONS FROM REPORTS.—Requirements to address recommendations from the following reports, as practicable and to the extent that such recommendations are under the jurisdiction of the Coast Guard:**

(A) The National Transportation Safety Board's Safety Recommendation Reports on the Amphibious Passenger Vessel incidents in Table Rock, Missouri, Hot Springs, Arkansas, and Seattle, Washington.

(B) The Coast Guard's Marine Investigation Board reports on the Stretch Duck 7 sinkings at Table Rock, Missouri, and the Miss Majestic sinking near Hot Springs, Arkansas.

(5) **INTERIM REQUIREMENTS.—The interim requirements described in subsection (a)(2), as appropriate.**

(c) **PROHIBITION ON OPERATION OF NON-COMPLIANT VESSELS.—Commencing as of the date specified by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating pursuant to subsection (d), any amphibious passenger vessel whose configuration or operation does not comply with the requirements under subsection (a)(2) (or subsection (a)(1), if prescribed) may not operate in waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, as defined in section 2.38 of title 33, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).**

(d) **DEADLINE FOR COMPLIANCE.—The regulations and interim requirements described in subsections (a) and (b) shall require compliance with the requirements in the regulations not later than 2 years after the date of the enactment of this Act, as the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating may specify in the regulations.**

(e) **REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the promulgation of the regulations required under subsection (a), the Commandant of the Coast Guard shall provide a report to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure of the House of Representatives regarding the status of the implementation of the requirements included in such regulations.**

**SA 2699.** Mr. CORNYN (for Mr. ALEXANDER) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1520, to amend the Public

Health Service Act to provide for the publication of a list of licensed biological products, and for other purposes; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

The Act may be cited as the "Purple Book Continuity Act of 2020".

**SEC. 2. BIOLOGICAL PRODUCT PATENT TRANSPARENCY.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.—**Section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(9) **PUBLIC LISTING.—**

"(A) **IN GENERAL.—**

"(i) **INITIAL PUBLICATION.—**Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of the Purple Book Continuity Act of 2020, the Secretary shall publish and make available to the public in a searchable, electronic format—

"(I) a list of each biological product, by nonproprietary name (proper name), for which, as of such date of enactment, a biologics license under subsection (a) or this subsection is in effect, or that, as of such date of enactment, is deemed to be licensed under this section pursuant to section 7002(e)(4) of the Biologics Price Competition and Innovation Act of 2009;

"(II) the date of licensure of the marketing application and the application number; and

"(III) with respect to each biological product described in subclause (I), the licensure status, and, as available, the marketing status.

"(ii) **REVISIONS.—**Every 30 days after the publication of the first list under clause (i), the Secretary shall revise the list to include each biological product which has been licensed under subsection (a) or this subsection during the 30-day period or deemed licensed under this section pursuant to section 7002(e)(4) of the Biologics Price Competition and Innovation Act of 2009.

"(iii) **PATENT INFORMATION.—**Not later than 30 days after a list of patents under subsection (1)(3)(A), or a supplement to such list under subsection (1)(7), has been provided by the reference product sponsor to the subsection (k) applicant respecting a biological product included on the list published under this subparagraph, the reference product sponsor shall provide such list of patents (or supplement thereto) and their corresponding expiry dates to the Secretary, and the Secretary shall, in revisions made under clause (ii), include such information for such biological product. Within 30 days of providing any subsequent or supplemental list of patents to any subsequent subsection (k) applicant under subsection (1)(3)(A) or (1)(7), the reference product sponsor shall update the information provided to the Secretary under this clause with any additional patents from such subsequent or supplemental list and their corresponding expiry dates.

"(iv) **LISTING OF EXCLUSIVITIES.—**For each biological product included on the list published under this subparagraph, the Secretary shall specify each exclusivity period under paragraph (6) or paragraph (7) for which the Secretary has determined such biological product to be eligible and that has not concluded.

"(B) **REVOCATION OR SUSPENSION OF LICENSE.—**If the license of a biological product is determined by the Secretary to have been revoked or suspended for safety, purity, or potency reasons, it may not be published in the list under subparagraph (A). If such revocation or suspension occurred after inclusion of such biological product in the list published under subparagraph (A), the reference product sponsor shall notify the Secretary that—

"(i) the biological product shall be immediately removed from such list for the same period as the revocation or suspension; and

"(ii) a notice of the removal shall be published in the Federal Register."

(b) **REVIEW AND REPORT ON TYPES OF INFORMATION TO BE LISTED.—**Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(1) solicit public comment regarding the type of information, if any, that should be added to or removed from the list required by paragraph (9) of section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(k)), as added by subsection (a); and

(2) transmit to Congress an evaluation of such comments, including any recommendations about the types of information that should be added to or removed from the list.

**SA 2700.** Mr. CORNYN (for Mr. WICKER (for himself and Mr. CARDIN)) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1310, to strengthen participation of elected national legislators in the activities of the Organization of American States and reaffirm United States support for Organization of American States human rights and anti-corruption initiatives, and for other purposes; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the "Organization of American States Legislative Engagement Act of 2020".

**SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Charter of the Organization of American States establishes that "representative democracy is an indispensable condition for the stability, peace and development of the region".

(2) Article 2 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter of the Organization of American States affirms that "the effective exercise of representative democracy is the basis for the rule of law and of the constitutional regimes of the member states of the Organization of American States".

(3) Article 26 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter states that "the OAS will continue to carry out programs and activities designed to promote democratic principles and practices and strengthen a democratic culture in the Hemisphere".

(4) In accordance with the OAS Charter and the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the OAS General Assembly, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS Secretariat have established a wide range of cooperative agreements with domestic and international organizations, including national legislative institutions.

(5) In 2004, OAS General Assembly Resolution 2044 (XXXIV-O/04) appealed for the "strengthening of legislatures, as well as inter-parliamentary cooperation on key items of the inter-American agenda, with a view, in particular, to generating initiatives to fight corruption, poverty, inequality, and social exclusion".

(6) In 2005, OAS General Assembly Resolution 2095 (XXXV-O/05) called on the OAS Secretariat to "invite [ . . . ] the presidents or speakers of the national legislative institutions of the Americas, i.e., congresses, parliaments, or national assemblies, [ . . . ] to attend a special meeting of the Permanent Council [ . . . ] for the initiation of a dialogue on topics on the hemispheric agenda".

(7) In 2014 and 2015, the OAS Secretariat expanded its engagement with elected national

legislators from OAS member states by convening two meetings of presidents of national legislatures, first in Lima, Peru and subsequently in Santiago, Chile.

(8) However, no permanent procedures exist to facilitate the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities.

(9) The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly has proven successful at strengthening inter-parliamentary cooperation among its member states.

### SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is that sense of Congress that—

(1) elected national legislators play an essential role in the exercise of representative democracy in the Americas, including by—

(A) promoting economic freedom and respect for property rights;

(B) promoting the rule of law and combating corruption;

(C) defending human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

(D) advancing the principles and practices expressed in the Charter of the Organization of American States, the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, and the Inter-American Democratic Charter;

(2) establishing procedures and mechanisms to facilitate the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities could contribute to the promotion of democratic principles and practices and strengthen a democratic culture in the Western Hemisphere;

(3) increasing and strengthening the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities could advance the principles and proposals expressed in section 4 of the Organization of American States Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41; 127 Stat. 549);

(4) the OAS General Assembly, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS Secretariat should take steps to facilitate greater participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities;

(5) the OAS Permanent Council resolutions titled “Guidelines for the Participation of Civil Society in OAS Activities” and “Strategies for Increasing and Strengthening Participation by Civil Society Organizations in OAS Activities” should serve as important references for efforts to bolster the participation of elected national legislators from OAS member states in OAS activities; and

(6) the successful experience of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly should serve as a model to the OAS in creating a similar mechanism.

### SEC. 4. STRENGTHENING PARTICIPATION OF ELECTED NATIONAL LEGISLATORS AT THE OAS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, acting through the United States Mission to the Organization of American States, should use the voice and vote of the United States to support the creation of procedures for the Organization of American States that—

(1) enhance the participation of democratically elected national legislators from OAS member state countries in OAS activities that advance the principles of the Inter-American Democratic Charter and the core values of the OAS consistent with the principles and proposals expressed in section 4 of the Organization of American States Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41; 127 Stat. 549);

(2) create an annual forum for democratically elected national legislatures from OAS member states to discuss issues of hemispheric importance, including regional efforts to defend human rights and combat transnational criminal activities, corruption, and impunity;

(3) permit elected national legislators from OAS member states to make presentations, contribute information, and provide expert advice, as appropriate, to the OAS Secretariat, OAS Permanent Council, and OAS General Assembly about OAS activities on issues of hemispheric importance;

(4) lead to the creation of a mechanism to regularly facilitate the participation of elected national legislators in OAS activities; and

(5) reinforce OAS Secretariat programs that provide technical assistance for the modernization and institutional strengthening of national legislatures from OAS member states.

(b) EXPENSES.—The Secretary of State, acting through the United States Mission to the Organization of American States, as appropriate, shall seek to ensure that expenses related to the procedures set forth in this Act do not increase member quotas, assessed fees, or voluntary contributions and that the Secretariat of the OAS shall seek to ensure shared financial responsibilities among the member states in facilitating the financial support necessary to carry out this initiative.

### SEC. 5. SUPPORT FOR OAS HUMAN RIGHTS AND ANTI-CORRUPTION INITIATIVES.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the efforts of the OAS Secretary General and Secretariat to combat corruption and impunity in the Americas represent important contributions to strengthening the rule of law and democratic governance in the Americas; and

(2) the United States should support efforts to ensure the effectiveness and independence of OAS initiatives to combat corruption and impunity in the Americas.

(b) ANTI-CORRUPTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROMOTION STRATEGY.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of the Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a strategy for supporting OAS anti-corruption and human rights promotion efforts. The strategy should include—

(1) an assessment of United States programs, activities, and initiatives with the OAS to support anti-corruption and human rights promotion in the Americas;

(2) a summary of the steps taken by the United States Mission to the OAS to strengthen anti-corruption and anti-impunity efforts in the Americas;

(3) an assessment of necessary reforms and initiatives to prioritize and reinforce the OAS Secretary General and Secretariat's efforts to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas;

(4) a detailed plan to facilitate increased OAS collaboration, as appropriate, with relevant stakeholders, including elected national legislators and civil society, in support of an approach to promote human rights and combat transnational criminal activities, corruption, and impunity in the Americas; and

(5) a detailed plan for implementing the strategy set forth in this section of the Act.

### SEC. 6. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a report on OAS processes, initiatives, and reforms undertaken to implement section 4, actions taken to implement the strategy required under section 5(b), and steps taken to implement the Organization of American States

Revitalization and Reform Act of 2013 (Public Law 113-41). The report should include—

(1) an analysis of the progress made by the OAS to adopt and effectively implement reforms and initiatives to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas; and

(2) a detailed assessment of OAS efforts to increase stakeholder engagement to advance human rights and combat corruption and impunity in the Americas.

(b) BRIEFINGS.—Not later than one year after the Secretary of State submits the report required under subsection (a), and annually thereafter for two additional years, the Secretary shall provide to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a briefing on the information required to be included in such report.

### SEC. 7. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON ELECTED NATIONAL LEGISLATOR.

It is the sense of Congress that an elected national legislator participating in the activities outlined in this Act should be an individual that—

(1) was elected as a result of periodic, free and fair elections; and

(2) is not known to be under investigation or convicted for corruption or transnational criminal activities, including trafficking of people, goods, or illicit narcotics, money-laundering, terrorist financing, acts of terrorism, campaign finance violations, bribery, or extortion.

**SA 2701.** Mr. SANDERS (for himself and Mr. HAWLEY) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 8900, making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2021, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

### SEC. \_\_\_\_\_. ADDITIONAL RECOVERY REBATES FOR INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65 of subtitle F of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting after section 6428 the following new section:

### “SEC. 6428A. ADDITIONAL RECOVERY REBATES FOR INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an eligible individual, there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by subtitle A for the first taxable year beginning in 2020 an amount equal to the sum of—

“(1) \$1,200 (\$2,400 in the case of eligible individuals filing a joint return), plus

“(2) an amount equal to the product of \$500 multiplied by the number of dependents (as defined in section 152) of the taxpayer.

“(b) TREATMENT OF CREDIT.—The credit allowed by subsection (a) shall be treated as allowed by subpart C of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1.

“(c) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—The amount of the credit allowed by subsection (a) (determined without regard to this subsection and subsection (e)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by 5 percent of so much of the taxpayer's adjusted gross income as exceeds—

“(1) \$150,000 in the case of a joint return,

“(2) \$112,500 in the case of a head of household, and

“(3) \$75,000 in the case of a taxpayer not described in paragraph (1) or (2).

“(d) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘eligible individual’ means any individual other than—

“(1) any nonresident alien individual,

“(2) any individual with respect to whom a deduction under section 151 is allowable to

another taxpayer for a taxable year beginning in the calendar year in which the individual's taxable year begins, and

“(3) an estate or trust.

“(e) COORDINATION WITH ADVANCE REFUNDS OF CREDIT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of credit which would (but for this paragraph) be allowable under this section shall be reduced (but not below zero) by the aggregate refunds and credits made or allowed to the taxpayer under subsection (f). Any failure to so reduce the credit shall be treated as arising out of a mathematical or clerical error and assessed according to section 6213(b)(1).

“(2) JOINT RETURNS.—In the case of a refund or credit made or allowed under subsection (f) with respect to a joint return, half of such refund or credit shall be treated as having been made or allowed to each individual filing such return.

“(f) ADVANCE REFUNDS AND CREDITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (5), each individual who was an eligible individual for such individual's first taxable year beginning in 2019 shall be treated as having made a payment against the tax imposed by chapter 1 for such taxable year in an amount equal to the advance refund amount for such taxable year.

“(2) ADVANCE REFUND AMOUNT.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the advance refund amount is the amount that would have been allowed as a credit under this section for such taxable year if this section (other than subsection (e) and this subsection) had applied to such taxable year.

“(3) TIMING AND MANNER OF PAYMENTS.—

“(A) TIMING.—The Secretary shall, subject to the provisions of this title, refund or credit any overpayment attributable to this section as rapidly as possible. No refund or credit shall be made or allowed under this subsection after December 31, 2021.

“(B) DELIVERY OF PAYMENTS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary may certify and disburse refunds payable under this subsection electronically to any account to which the payee authorized, on or after January 1, 2018, the delivery of a refund of taxes under this title or of a Federal payment (as defined in section 3332 of title 31, United States Code).

“(C) WAIVER OF CERTAIN RULES.—Notwithstanding section 3325 of title 31, United States Code, or any other provision of law, with respect to any payment of a refund under this subsection, a disbursing official in the executive branch of the United States Government may modify payment information received from an officer or employee described in section 3325(a)(1)(B) of such title for the purpose of facilitating the accurate and efficient delivery of such payment. Except in cases of fraud or reckless neglect, no liability under sections 3325, 3527, 3528, or 3529 of title 31, United States Code, shall be imposed with respect to payments made under this subparagraph.

“(4) NO INTEREST.—No interest shall be allowed on any overpayment attributable to this section.

“(5) ALTERNATE TAXABLE YEAR.—In the case of an individual who, at the time of any determination made pursuant to paragraph (3), has not filed a tax return for the year described in paragraph (1), the Secretary may—

“(A) apply such paragraph by substituting ‘2018’ for ‘2019’, and

“(B) if the individual has not filed a tax return for such individual's first taxable year beginning in 2018, use information with respect to such individual for calendar year 2019 provided in—

“(i) Form SSA-1099, Social Security Benefit Statement, or

“(ii) Form RRB-1099, Social Security Equivalent Benefit Statement.

“(6) PAYMENT TO REPRESENTATIVE PAYEES AND FIDUCIARIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any individual for which payment information is provided to the Secretary by the Commissioner of Social Security, the Railroad Retirement Board, or the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, the payment by the Secretary under paragraph (3) with respect to such individual may be made to such individual's representative payee or fiduciary and the entire payment shall be—

“(i) provided to the individual who is entitled to the payment, or

“(ii) used only for the benefit of the individual who is entitled to the payment.

“(B) APPLICATION OF ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS.—

“(i) In the case of a payment described in subparagraph (A) which is made with respect to a social security beneficiary or a supplemental security income recipient, section 1129(a)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320a-8(a)(3)) shall apply to such payment in the same manner as such section applies to a payment under title II or XVI of such Act.

“(ii) In the case of a payment described in subparagraph (A) which is made with respect to a railroad retirement beneficiary, section 13 of the Railroad Retirement Act (45 U.S.C. 231) shall apply to such payment in the same manner as such section applies to a payment under such Act.

“(iii) In the case of a payment described in subparagraph (A) which is made with respect to a veterans beneficiary, sections 5502, 6106, and 6108 of title 38, United States Code, shall apply to such payment in the same manner as such sections apply to a payment under such title.

“(7) NOTICE TO TAXPAYER.—Not later than 15 days after the date on which the Secretary distributed any payment to an eligible taxpayer pursuant to this subsection, notice shall be sent by mail to such taxpayer's last known address. Such notice shall indicate the method by which such payment was made, the amount of such payment, and a phone number for the appropriate point of contact at the Internal Revenue Service to report any failure to receive such payment.

“(g) IDENTIFICATION NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be allowed under subsection (a) to an eligible individual who does not include on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(A) such individual's valid identification number,

“(B) in the case of a joint return, the valid identification number of such individual's spouse, and

“(C) in the case of any dependent taken into account under subsection (a)(2), the valid identification number of such dependent.

“(2) VALID IDENTIFICATION NUMBER.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘valid identification number’ means a social security number (as such term is defined in section 24(h)(7)).

“(B) ADOPTION TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(C), in the case of a dependent who is adopted or placed for adoption, the term ‘valid identification number’ shall include the adoption taxpayer identification number of such dependent.

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES.—Paragraph (1)(B) shall not apply in the case where at least 1 spouse was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States at any time during the taxable year and at least 1 spouse satisfies paragraph (1)(A).

“(4) MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR AUTHORITY.—Any omission of a correct valid

identification number required under this subsection shall be treated as a mathematical or clerical error for purposes of applying section 6213(g)(2) to such omission.

“(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including any such measures as are deemed appropriate to avoid allowing multiple credits or rebates to a taxpayer.”.

(b) ADMINISTRATIVE AMENDMENTS.—

(1) DEFINITION OF DEFICIENCY.—Section 6211(b)(4)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “and 6428” and inserting “6428, and 6428A”.

(2) MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR AUTHORITY.—Section 6213(g)(2)(L) of such Code is amended by striking “or 6428” and inserting “6428, or 6428A”.

(c) TREATMENT OF POSSESSIONS.—

(1) PAYMENTS TO POSSESSIONS.—

(A) MIRROR CODE POSSESSION.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to each possession of the United States which has a mirror code tax system amounts equal to the loss (if any) to that possession by reason of the amendments made by this section. Such amounts shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury based on information provided by the government of the respective possession.

(B) OTHER POSSESSIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to each possession of the United States which does not have a mirror code tax system amounts estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury as being equal to the aggregate benefits (if any) that would have been provided to residents of such possession by reason of the amendments made by this section if a mirror code tax system had been in effect in such possession. The preceding sentence shall not apply unless the respective possession has a plan, which has been approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, under which such possession will promptly distribute such payments to its residents.

(2) COORDINATION WITH CREDIT ALLOWED AGAINST UNITED STATES INCOME TAXES.—No credit shall be allowed against United States income taxes under section 6428A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section) to any person—

(A) to whom a credit is allowed against taxes imposed by the possession by reason of the amendments made by this section, or

(B) who is eligible for a payment under a plan described in paragraph (1)(B).

(3) DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—

(A) POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “possession of the United States” includes the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

(B) MIRROR CODE TAX SYSTEM.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “mirror code tax system” means, with respect to any possession of the United States, the income tax system of such possession if the income tax liability of the residents of such possession under such system is determined by reference to the income tax laws of the United States as if such possession were the United States.

(C) TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS.—For purposes of section 1324 of title 31, United States Code, the payments under this subsection shall be treated in the same manner as a refund due from a credit provision referred to in subsection (b)(2) of such section.

(d) EXCEPTION FROM REDUCTION, OFFSET, GARNISHMENT, ETC.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Any credit or refund allowed or made to any individual by reason of section 6428A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section) or by reason of subsection (c) of this section shall not be—

(A) subject to reduction or offset pursuant to section 3716 or 3720A of title 31, United States Code,

(B) subject to reduction or offset pursuant to subsection (d), (e), or (f) of section 6402 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or

(C) reduced or offset by other assessed Federal taxes that would otherwise be subject to levy or collection.

(2) ASSIGNMENT OF BENEFITS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Any applicable payment shall not be subject to transfer, assignment, execution, levy, attachment, garnishment, or other legal process, or the operation of any bankruptcy or insolvency law, to the same extent as payments described in section 207 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 407) without regard to subsection (b) thereof.

(B) ENCODING OF PAYMENTS.—As soon as practicable after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, the Secretary of the Treasury shall encode applicable payments that are paid electronically to any account—

(i) with a unique identifier that is reasonably sufficient to allow a financial institution to identify the payment as a payment protected under subparagraph (A), and

(ii) pursuant to the same specifications as required for a benefit payment to which part 212 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations applies.

(C) GARNISHMENT.—

(i) ENCODED PAYMENTS.—Upon receipt of a garnishment order that applies to an account that has received an applicable payment that is encoded as provided in subparagraph (B), a financial institution shall follow the requirements and procedures set forth in part 212 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations. This paragraph shall not alter the status of payments as tax refunds or other non-benefit payments for purpose of any reclamation rights of the Department of Treasury or the Internal Revenue Service as per part 210 of title 31 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

(ii) OTHER PAYMENTS.—If a financial institution receives a garnishment order (other than an order that has been served by the United States) that applies to an account into which an applicable payment that has not been encoded as provided in subparagraph (B) has been deposited on any date in the prior 60 days (including any date before the date of the enactment of this paragraph), the financial institution, upon the request of the account holder or for purposes of complying in good faith with a State order, State law, court order, or interpretation by a State Attorney General relating to garnishment order, may, but is not required to, treat the amount of the payment as exempt under law from garnishment without requiring the account holder to assert any right of garnishment exemption or requiring the consent of the judgment creditor.

(iii) LIABILITY.—A financial institution that complies in good faith with clause (i) or that acts in good faith in reliance on clause (ii) shall not be liable under any Federal or State law, regulation, or court or other order to a creditor that initiates an order for any protected amounts, to an account holder for any frozen amounts or garnishment order applied.

(D) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

(i) ACCOUNT HOLDER.—The term “account holder” means a natural person against whom a garnishment order is issued and whose name appears in a financial institution’s records.

(ii) APPLICABLE PAYMENT.—The term “applicable payment” means any payment of credit or refund by reason of section 6428A of such Code (as so added) or by reason of subsection (c) of this section.

(iii) GARNISHMENT.—The term “garnishment” means execution, levy, attachment, garnishment, or other legal process.

(iv) GARNISHMENT ORDER.—

(I) IN GENERAL.—The term “garnishment order” means a writ, order, notice, summons, judgment, levy, or similar written instruction issued by a court, a State or State agency, or a municipality or municipal corporation, including an order to freeze the assets in an account, to effect a garnishment against a debtor.

(II) EXCEPTION FOR CHILD SUPPORT.—The term “garnishment order” shall not include any writ, order, notice, summons, judgment, levy or other similar written instruction issued by a State child support enforcement agency.

(E) EXCEPTION FOR CHILD SUPPORT.—Nothing in this subsection shall prevent or prejudice the enforcement of any writ, order, notice, summons, judgment, levy or other similar written instruction issued by a State child support enforcement agency.

(e) PUBLIC AWARENESS CAMPAIGN.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall conduct a public awareness campaign, in coordination with the Commissioner of Social Security and the heads of other relevant Federal agencies, to provide information regarding the availability of the credit and rebate allowed under section 6428A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section), including information with respect to individuals who may not have filed a tax return for taxable year 2018 or 2019.

(F) APPROPRIATIONS TO CARRY OUT REBATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Immediately upon the enactment of this Act, the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2021:

(A) DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY.—

(i) For an additional amount for “Department of the Treasury—Bureau of the Fiscal Service—Salaries and Expenses”, \$78,650,000, to remain available until September 30, 2022.

(ii) For an additional amount for “Department of the Treasury—Internal Revenue Service—Taxpayer Services”, \$293,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2022.

(iii) For an additional amount for “Department of the Treasury—Internal Revenue Service—Operations Support”, \$170,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2022.

(iv) For an additional amount for “Department of Treasury—Internal Revenue Service—Enforcement”, \$37,200,000, to remain available until September 30, 2022.

Amounts made available in appropriations under clauses (ii), (iii), and (iv) of this subparagraph may be transferred between such appropriations upon the advance notification of the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate. Such transfer authority is in addition to any other transfer authority provided by law.

(B) SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION.—For an additional amount for “Social Security Administration—Limitation on Administrative Expenses”, \$38,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2022.

(2) REPORTS.—No later than 15 days after enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit a plan to the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate detailing the expected use of the funds provided by paragraph (1)(A). Beginning 90 days after enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit a quarterly report to the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate detailing the actual expenditure of funds provided by paragraph (1)(A) and the expected expenditure of such funds in the subsequent quarter.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Paragraph (2) of section 1324(b) of title 31, United States Code, is amended by inserting “6428A,” after “6428,”.

(2) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65 of subtitle F of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6428 the following:

“Sec. 6428A. Additional recovery Rebates for individuals.”.

**SA 2702.** Ms. MURKOWSKI (for Mr. MORAN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 633, to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the members of the Women’s Army Corps who were assigned to the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion, known as the “Six Triple Eight”; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the “‘Six Triple Eight’ Congressional Gold Medal Act of 2020”.

**SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

Congress finds the following:

(1) On July 1, 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law legislation that established the Women’s Army Corps (referred to in this section as the “WAC”) as a component in the Army. The WAC was converted from the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (referred to in this section as the “WAAC”), which had been created in 1942 without official military status. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and Mary McLeod Bethune, the founder of the National Council of Negro Women, advocated for the admittance of African-American women into the newly formed WAC to serve as officers and enlisted personnel.

(2) Dubbed “10 percenters”, the recruitment of African-American women to the WAAC was limited to 10 percent of the population of the WAAC to match the proportion of African-Americans in the national population. Despite an executive order issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 banning racial discrimination in civilian defense industries, the Armed Forces remained segregated. Enlisted women served in segregated units, participated in segregated training, lived in separate quarters, ate at separate tables in mess halls, and used segregated recreational facilities. Officers received their officer candidate training in integrated units but lived under segregated conditions. Specialist and technical training schools were integrated in 1943. During World War II, a total of 6,520 African-American women served in the WAAC and the WAC.

(3) After several units of White women were sent to serve in the European Theater of Operations (referred to in this section as the “ETO”) during World War II, African-American organizations advocated for the War Department to extend the opportunity to serve overseas to African-American WAC units.

(4) In November 1944, the War Department approved sending African-American women to serve in Europe. A battalion of all African-American women drawn from the WAC, the Army Service Forces, and the Army Air Forces was created and designated as the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion (referred to in this section as the “6888th”), which was nicknamed the “Six Triple Eight”.

(5) Army officials reported a shortage of qualified postal officers within the ETO, which resulted in a backlog of undelivered mail. As Allied forces drove across Europe,



the ever-changing locations of servicemembers hampered the delivery of mail to those servicemembers. Because 7,000,000 individuals from the United States were serving in the ETO, many of those individuals had identical names. As an example, 7,500 such individuals were named Robert Smith. One general predicted that the backlog in Birmingham, England would take 6 months to process and the lack of reliable mail service was hurting morale.

(6) In March 1945, the 6888th arrived in Birmingham. Upon their arrival, the 6888th found warehouses filled with millions of pieces of mail intended for members of the Armed Forces, United States Government personnel, and Red Cross workers serving in the ETO.

(7) The 6888th created effective processes and filing systems to track individual servicemembers, organize “undeliverable” mail, determine the intended recipient for insufficiently addressed mail, and handle mail addressed to servicemembers who had died. Adhering to their motto of “No mail, low morale”, the women processed an average of 65,000 pieces of mail per shift and cleared the 6-month backlog of mail within 3 months.

(8) The 6888th traveled to Rouen, France in May 1945 and worked through a separate backlog of undelivered mail dating back as far as 3 years.

(9) At the completion of their mission, the entire unit returned to the United States. The 6888th was discontinued on March 9, 1946, at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey.

(10) The accomplishments of the 6888th in Europe encouraged the General Board, United States Forces, European Theater of Operations to adopt the following premise in their study of the WAC issued in December 1945: “[T]he national security program is the joint responsibility of all Americans irrespective of color or sex” and “the continued use of colored, along with white, female military personnel is required in such strength as is proportionately appropriate to the relative population distribution between colored and white races”.

(11) With the exception of smaller units of African-American nurses who served in Africa, Australia, and England, the 6888th was the only African-American women's unit to serve overseas during World War II.

(12) The members of the “Six Triple Eight” received the European African Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, the Women's Army Corps Service Medal, and the World War II Victory Medal for their service.

### SEC. 3. CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL.

(a) AWARD AUTHORIZED.—The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate shall make appropriate arrangements for the award, on behalf of Congress, of a single gold medal of appropriate design in honor of the women of the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion (commonly known as the “Six Triple Eight”) in recognition of—

(1) the pioneering military service of those women;

(2) the devotion to duty of those women; and

(3) the contributions made by those women to increase the morale of all United States personnel stationed in the European Theater of Operations during World War II.

(b) DESIGN AND STRIKING.—For the purposes of the award described in subsection (a), the Secretary of the Treasury (referred to in this Act as the “Secretary”) shall strike the gold medal with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions, to be determined by the Secretary.

(c) SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—After the award of the gold medal under subsection (a), the medal

shall be given to the Smithsonian Institution, where the medal shall be available for display, as appropriate, and made available for research.

(2) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that the Smithsonian Institution should make the gold medal received under paragraph (1) available elsewhere, particularly at—

(A) appropriate locations associated with the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion;

(B) the Women in Military Service for America Memorial;

(C) the United States Army Women's Museum;

(D) the National World War II Museum and Memorial; and

(E) any other location determined appropriate by the Smithsonian Institution.

### SEC. 4. DUPLICATE MEDALS.

Under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, the Secretary may strike and sell duplicates in bronze of the gold medal struck under section 3 at a price sufficient to cover the costs of the medals, including labor, materials, dies, use of machinery, and overhead expenses.

### SEC. 5. NATIONAL MEDALS.

(a) NATIONAL MEDALS.—Medals struck under this Act are national medals for purposes of chapter 51 of title 31, United States Code.

(b) NUMISMATIC ITEMS.—For purposes of section 5134 of title 31, United States Code, all medals struck under this Act shall be considered to be numismatic items.

**SA 2703.** Ms. MURKOWSKI (for Mrs. GILLIBRAND) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1925, to designate the Manhattan Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System of the Department of Veterans Affairs as the “Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System”; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

### SECTION 1. DESIGNATION OF MANHATTAN CAMPUS OF THE NEW YORK HARBOR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS, NEW YORK.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Margaret Cochran was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on November 12, 1751, and married John Corbin in 1772.

(2) Three years after the marriage, when John Corbin left to fight in the Revolutionary War as an artilleryman, Margaret Corbin accompanied him to war to support the Revolutionary Army.

(3) Margaret Corbin supported the Revolutionary Army by caring for injured and sick soldiers as well as by cooking and cleaning. During battle, she also helped her husband load the cannon he was responsible for manning.

(4) On November 16, 1776, John Corbin was manning a cannon during the Battle of Fort Washington on Manhattan Island, New York, when he was killed. Margaret Corbin heroically took her husband's place, firing the cannon until she, too, was hit by enemy fire and seriously wounded.

(5) Having lost the use of her left arm, Margaret Corbin was assigned to the “Invalid Regiment” at West Point, New York.

(6) The Continental Congress awarded Margaret Corbin a lifelong pension for her injuries, making her the first woman to receive a pension from the United States by virtue of military service for the United States.

(7) Margaret Corbin died in 1789 in Highland Falls, New York. She is honored nearby

at West Point as a hero of the Revolutionary War.

(b) DESIGNATION.—The Manhattan Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System of the Department of Veterans Affairs in New York, New York, shall after the date of the enactment of this Act be known and designated as the “Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System” or the “Margaret Cochran Corbin VA Campus”.

(c) REFERENCE.—Any reference in any law, regulation, map, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the Campus referred to in subsection (b) shall be deemed to be a reference to the Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System.

### AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I have 4 requests for committees to meet during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

#### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The Committee on the Judiciary is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, December 10, 2020, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

#### COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, December 10, 2020, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON SURFACE TRANSPORTATION AND MERCHANT MARINE INFRASTRUCTURE, SAFETY AND SECURITY

The Subcommittee on Surface Transportation and Merchant Marine Infrastructure, Safety and Security of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, December 10, 2020, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

#### PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

The Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, December 10, 2020, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

(Ms. MURKOWSKI assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. BRAUN assumed the Chair.)

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

# NATIONAL IMPAIRED DRIVING PREVENTION MONTH

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 799, which was submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 799) designating December 2020 as "National Impaired Driving Prevention Month".

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I further ask that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be made considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 799) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

## 'SIX TRIPLE EIGHT' CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL ACT OF 2019

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs be discharged from further consideration of S. 633 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 633) to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the members of the Women's Army Corps who were assigned to the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion, known as the "Six Triple Eight".

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I ask unanimous consent that the Moran substitute amendment at the desk be considered and agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2702) was agreed to, as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "'Six Triple Eight' Congressional Gold Medal Act of 2020".

### SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) On July 1, 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law legislation that established the Women's Army Corps (referred to in this section as the "WAC") as a component in the Army. The WAC was converted from the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (referred to in this section as the "WAAC"), which had been created in 1942 without official military status. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and Mary McLeod Bethune, the founder of the National Council of Negro Women, advocated for the admittance of African-American women into the newly formed WAC to serve as officers and enlisted personnel.

(2) Dubbed "10 percenters", the recruitment of African-American women to the WAAC was limited to 10 percent of the population of the WAAC to match the proportion of African-Americans in the national population. Despite an executive order issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 banning racial discrimination in civilian defense industries, the Armed Forces remained segregated. Enlisted women served in segregated units, participated in segregated training, lived in separate quarters, ate at separate tables in mess halls, and used segregated recreational facilities. Officers received their officer candidate training in integrated units but lived under segregated conditions. Specialist and technical training schools were integrated in 1943. During World War II, a total of 6,520 African-American women served in the WAAC and the WAC.

(3) After several units of White women were sent to serve in the European Theater of Operations (referred to in this section as the "ETO") during World War II, African-American organizations advocated for the War Department to extend the opportunity to serve overseas to African-American WAC units.

(4) In November 1944, the War Department approved sending African-American women to serve in Europe. A battalion of all African-American women drawn from the WAC, the Army Service Forces, and the Army Air Forces was created and designated as the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion (referred to in this section as the "6888th"), which was nicknamed the "Six Triple Eight".

(5) Army officials reported a shortage of qualified postal officers within the ETO, which resulted in a backlog of undelivered mail. As Allied forces drove across Europe, the ever-changing locations of servicemembers hampered the delivery of mail to those servicemembers. Because 7,000,000 individuals from the United States were serving in the ETO, many of those individuals had identical names. As an example, 7,500 such individuals were named Robert Smith. One general predicted that the backlog in Birmingham, England would take 6 months to process and the lack of reliable mail service was hurting morale.

(6) In March 1945, the 6888th arrived in Birmingham. Upon their arrival, the 6888th found warehouses filled with millions of pieces of mail intended for members of the Armed Forces, United States Government personnel, and Red Cross workers serving in the ETO.

(7) The 6888th created effective processes and filing systems to track individual servicemembers, organize "undeliverable" mail, determine the intended recipient for insufficiently addressed mail, and handle mail addressed to servicemembers who had died. Adhering to their motto of "No mail, low morale", the women processed an average of 65,000 pieces of mail per shift and cleared the 6-month backlog of mail within 3 months.

(8) The 6888th traveled to Rouen, France in May 1945 and worked through a separate backlog of undelivered mail dating back as far as 3 years.

(9) At the completion of their mission, the entire unit returned to the United States. The 6888th was discontinued on March 9, 1946, at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey.

(10) The accomplishments of the 6888th in Europe encouraged the General Board, United States Forces, European Theater of Operations to adopt the following premise in their study of the WAC issued in December 1945: "[T]he national security program is the joint responsibility of all Americans irrespective of color or sex" and "the continued use of colored, along with white, female military personnel is required in such strength as is proportionately appropriate to the relative population distribution between colored and white races".

(11) With the exception of smaller units of African-American nurses who served in Africa, Australia, and England, the 6888th was the only African-American women's unit to serve overseas during World War II.

(12) The members of the "Six Triple Eight" received the European African Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, the Women's Army Corps Service Medal, and the World War II Victory Medal for their service.

### SEC. 3. CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL.

(a) AWARD AUTHORIZED.—The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate shall make appropriate arrangements for the award, on behalf of Congress, of a single gold medal of appropriate design in honor of the women of the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion (commonly known as the "Six Triple Eight") in recognition of—

(1) the pioneering military service of those women;

(2) the devotion to duty of those women; and

(3) the contributions made by those women to increase the morale of all United States personnel stationed in the European Theater of Operations during World War II.

(b) DESIGN AND STRIKING.—For the purposes of the award described in subsection (a), the Secretary of the Treasury (referred to in this Act as the "Secretary") shall strike the gold medal with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions, to be determined by the Secretary.

(c) SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—After the award of the gold medal under subsection (a), the medal shall be given to the Smithsonian Institution, where the medal shall be available for display, as appropriate, and made available for research.

(2) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that the Smithsonian Institution should make the gold medal received under paragraph (1) available elsewhere, particularly at—

(A) appropriate locations associated with the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion;

(B) the Women in Military Service for America Memorial;

(C) the United States Army Women's Museum;

(D) the National World War II Museum and Memorial; and

(E) any other location determined appropriate by the Smithsonian Institution.

### SEC. 4. DUPLICATE MEDALS.

Under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, the Secretary may strike and sell duplicates in bronze of the gold medal struck under section 3 at a price sufficient to cover the costs of the medals, including labor, materials, dies, use of machinery, and overhead expenses.

**SEC. 5. NATIONAL MEDALS.**

(a) NATIONAL MEDALS.—Medals struck under this Act are national medals for purposes of chapter 51 of title 31, United States Code.

(b) NUMISMATIC ITEMS.—For purposes of section 5134 of title 31, United States Code, all medals struck under this Act shall be considered to be numismatic items.

The bill (S. 633), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

**THE “MARGARET COCHRAN CORBIN CAMPUS OF THE NEW YORK HARBOR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM”**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 1925, which was received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report the bill by title. The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1925) to designate the Manhattan Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System of the Department of Veterans Affairs as the “Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System”.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I ask unanimous consent that the Gillibrand substitute amendment at the desk be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2703) in the nature of a substitute was agreed to, as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**SECTION 1. DESIGNATION OF MANHATTAN CAMPUS OF THE NEW YORK HARBOR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS, NEW YORK.**

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Margaret Cochran was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on November 12, 1751, and married John Corbin in 1772.

(2) Three years after the marriage, when John Corbin left to fight in the Revolutionary War as an artilleryman, Margaret Corbin accompanied him to war to support the Revolutionary Army.

(3) Margaret Corbin supported the Revolutionary Army by caring for injured and sick soldiers as well as by cooking and cleaning. During battle, she also helped her husband load the cannon he was responsible for manning.

(4) On November 16, 1776, John Corbin was manning a cannon during the Battle of Fort Washington on Manhattan Island, New York, when he was killed. Margaret Corbin heroically took her husband's place, firing the cannon until she, too, was hit by enemy fire and seriously wounded.

(5) Having lost the use of her left arm, Margaret Corbin was assigned to the “Invalid Regiment” at West Point, New York.

(6) The Continental Congress awarded Margaret Corbin a lifelong pension for her injuries, making her the first woman to receive a pension from the United States by virtue of military service for the United States.

(7) Margaret Corbin died in 1789 in Highland Falls, New York. She is honored nearby at West Point as a hero of the Revolutionary War.

(b) DESIGNATION.—The Manhattan Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System of the Department of Veterans Affairs in New York, New York, shall after the date of the enactment of this Act be known and designated as the “Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System” or the “Margaret Cochran Corbin VA Campus”.

(c) REFERENCE.—Any reference in any law, regulation, map, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the Campus referred to in subsection (b) shall be deemed to be a reference to the Margaret Cochran Corbin Campus of the New York Harbor Health Care System.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 1925), as amended, was passed.

**TRAVIS W. ATKINS DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS CLINIC**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the message to accompany S. 900.

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the bill from the Senate (S. 900) entitled “An Act to designate the community-based outpatient clinic of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Bozeman, Montana, as the ‘Travis W. Atkins Department of Veterans Affairs Clinic’.”, do pass with an amendment.

**MOTION TO CONCUR**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I move to concur in the House amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the motion be agreed to and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**STAFF SERGEANT ALEXANDER W. CONRAD VETERANS AFFAIRS HEALTH CARE CLINIC**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 4983 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 4983) to designate the Department of Veterans Affairs community-based outpatient clinic in Gilbert, Arizona, as the “Staff Sergeant Alexander W. Conrad Veterans Affairs Health Care Clinic”.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill (H.R. 4983) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

**LIEUTENANT COLONEL CHARLES S. KETTLES DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS MEDICAL CENTER**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 7347 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 7347) to designate the medical center of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Ann Arbor, Michigan, as the “Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Kettles Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center”.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill (H.R. 7347) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

**DRONE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY ACT**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 560, S. 2730.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2730) to establish and ensure an inclusive and transparent Drone Advisory Committee.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was reported from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, with an amendment to strike all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

*This Act may be cited as the “Drone Advisory Committee for the 21st Century Act”.*

**SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

*It is the Sense of Congress that:*

(1) *Due to the ever-increasing use of Unmanned Aircraft Systems in the agriculture, forestry, and rangeland sectors, as well as the inherently different uses in less populated parts of the nation, membership of the Drone Advisory Committee established by the Federal Aviation Administration should, to the extent practicable,*

include direct representatives from county and tribal government, agriculture, forestry, and rangeland interests.

(2) *Full transparency in the work of the Drone Advisory Committee is vital to ensuring the public can effectively participate and contribute to the development of sound Federal policies. The Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration should, to the maximum extent practicable, ensure the work of the Drone Advisory Committee is shared with and easily accessible to the public and shall ensure transparency and openness in the manner in which the affairs of the Committee are conducted.*

**SEC. 3. DRONE ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.**

(1) *IN GENERAL.*—The Federal Aviation Administration shall take appropriate steps to encourage direct representation of county and tribal governments as well as agriculture, forestry, rangeland sectors, and other rural interests on the Drone Advisory Committee.

(2) *PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.*—To the maximum extent practicable, the Administrator shall include public participation in the process of nominating individuals for membership on the Committee.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I further ask that the committee-reported substitute be considered and agreed to; the bill, as amended, be read

a third time and passed; and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table, with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The committee-reported amendment, in the nature of a substitute, was agreed to.

The bill (S. 2730), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

**ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2020**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 9:30 a.m., Friday, December 11, 2020; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; finally, that following

leader remarks, the Senate resume consideration of the conference report to accompany H.R. 6395.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW**

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:10 p.m., adjourned until Friday, December 11, 2020, at 9:30 a.m.

**NOMINATIONS**

Executive nomination received by the Senate:

**UNITED STATES TAX COURT**

MARK VAN DYKE HOLMES, OF NEW YORK, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES TAX COURT FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS. (REAPPOINTMENT)